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The Ryedale Historian

Number Nine

Spring 1978



Buckland entering the Kirkdale Cavern. From a caricature by the Rev. W. Conybeare

Reproduced from Gordon, 1894, p. 61.

**Helmsley Archaeological
and Historical Society**

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The Ryedale Historian

A Periodical Publication
by the Helmsley & District
Archaeological Society

Number 9

1978.

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Editorial

The first thing readers will notice is the enlarged format of this number. The old size caused problems with illustrations which sometimes had to be shrunk to the point of illegibility or pruned to the point of irrelevance. This size -B5 in the new nomenclature- is intended to become standard, so that regular readers' shelves will not be defaced, we hope, by more than one hump in the row.

We also welcome a new printer, none other than our own member Mr.G.W.Goodall of Kirkby Moorside, who makes his debut with this issue. Our thanks are due, however, to Messrs. Wigley of the Waverley Press, Leeds, who have served us so well over the last half-dozen numbers.

1977 was a sad year for the Helmsley Archaeological Society in that it saw the deaths of two life-members: Mrs. Beecroft of Church Street, Helmsley, and Mr. Theodore Nicholson of New Hall Arden. The Society offers its deepest sympathy to their families. Both had a long and fruitful association with the Society, and Mr. Nicholson, of course, was not only a founder-member (as was the late Mr. Beecroft) but also Chairman for over 20 years until he stood down in January 1977. As well as the last short article he completed before his death, readers will find in these pages two tributes, from colleagues who worked with him before his retirement to Ryedale. Their remarks will certainly give readers a new insight into Theodore Nicholson's antiquarian activities, since he was too modest to draw attention to them himself.

We welcome two new contributors: Mr. R.G.Cooper of the Department of Geography, University of Keele, has made a detailed study of features in North Yorkshire; his article is a spin-off from his doctoral thesis, now in its final stage. Margaret Smith is one of our members and regular attenders. She divides her time between Fylingthorpe and Edinburgh University, where she too is at work on a doctoral thesis on the Bronze Age in North Yorkshire.

Space has prevented the inclusion in this number of material deriving from one major recent activity by members of the Society. We are taking part in a survey of parish and township boundaries sponsored by the Council for British Archaeology. The ploughing out of hedges, hedge-baulks and boundary stones is now fast destroying the old landmarks recorded in written perambulations, and a detailed study of what remains is needed. Some half-dozen parishes or their sub-divisions ((townships) are at present being recorded, but there is plenty of room for more volunteers. Anybody with the time and the inclination to do a bit of field-walking (at their own pace) is welcome to join in. Maps and records cards are provided. Names to the Editor or to the Finds Recorder Doug Smith, please.

We acknowledge with gratitude a contribution towards publication costs of £50 from the North Yorkshire Education Committee, as has been its wont for some issues past; a further grant of £25 from the Hutton-le-Hole Folk Museum; and there is some hope that Keele University may make a small grant towards the costs of Mr. Cooper's illustrations. It would perhaps be as well to stress that such subsidies are always taken into account in reckoning the sale Price of each Ryedale Historian.

Finally, in view of all the recent changes among the Officers of the Society, we print relevant names and addresses, for the benefit of correspondents, including the Editor's change of address.

J. McDonnell,
Hon. Editor,
11 St. Oswald's Close,
Oswaldkirk, York YO6 5YH.

Theodore Nicholson

Theodore Nicholson became secretary of the Sunderland Antiquarian Society in the year 1928, and held that position for 20 years. He was then President for 2 years, and then Vice-President until his death.

In 1928, the Society was in a parlous state, almost extinct; but he revitalised it, and turned it into a vigorous and lively body. The main purpose of the Society is to produce volumes of articles dealing with the history of the town and its neighbourhood. Twenty-six of these volumes have now been published and the next is ready for the printer. Papers are read during the winter sessions by members, and these if considered of sufficient interest are printed. Theodore read many papers, and several of these can be found in our volumes, including "The Heath Family of Kepier", "The Washington Family", "Hilton Castle" and "The Lambton Family and Lambton Castle". These volumes are all in our local libraries and also in the chief educational establishments of the area.

I remember also his paper on "Cruck Houses" and also on "Old North Yorkshire Schools". After the latter a party of members visited the sites of these schools, with Theo. as guide.

But what he will chiefly be remembered for all his efforts to save buildings of historic interest. He was largely responsible for raising the money to purchase and renovate Washington Old Hall. In Sunderland here we owe to him the preservation of Hilton Castle, a fine early 15th Century Gate House Castle, and also the Trafalgar Square almshouses in the east end of the town. It is also partly due to him that we still have the classical Monkwearmouth Station, now housing a railway museum. He was also responsible for the preservation and reconditioning of Fulwell Old Mill in Sunderland.

He was always very keen on excavation, and led several efforts by the Society in the Sunderland area. The chief 'dig' that he supervised was at Dalden Tower, an early 14th Century building, and the home of the Bowes family, ancestors of our present Queen Mother, where several interesting discoveries were made. His description of the dig can be read in Volume 24 of our transactions.

He was a member of various cultural societies, and for his antiquarian works he was awarded a fellowship of the Society of Antiquaries. (F.S.A.).

Theodore served in both wars, and after the Second he acted as Town Councillor of Sunderland for many years. On his retirement from his work as Solicitor, he moved to Ryedale, where he died in August, 1977.

His name will always stand high in the annals of the Sunderland Antiquarian Society.

H. Robson.
President.

I first visited Washington Old Hall on a cold dark Sunday in February 1970. It was not looking its best but immediately caught my imagination, not only as the ancestral home of the Washingtons, but as a place on which much care, time and affection had been lavished by a devoted band of antiquaries, Theodore Nicholson prominent among them. He served on the local committee who saved the Hall from demolition in 1936 and it was his eye for accuracy and detail which ensured the quality of the subsequent restoration. Together with Mr. Hill, Mr. Underwood, Mr. Jones, Lord Gort and others, he arranged for the restored building to be opened by the American Ambassador and later to be handed over to the National Trust. "Nick" joined the Regional Committee of the Trust in March 1968 and, even after he was obliged to resign on reaching the age limit of 75 in November 1971, he laboured unceasingly for the Old Hall and many other Trust projects. His level-headed and quiet approach to problems was of inestimable value to the Trust and it is fitting that his name is recorded for posterity on a bronze plaque in the entrance to the building which meant so much to him.

Mrs. G.F. Pettit,
Honorary Historic Building Representative,
The National Trust,
Northumbria.

Leake Hall and Manor

Early History.

by Theodore Nicholson, T.D., F.S.A.

In 1087 William Rufus granted a considerable area of land in the Soke or Wapentake of Allerton, in North Yorkshire, to the Bishop of Durham(1). This land was divided into vill, which later developed into manors, each of which was held by a lay rector appointed by the Bishop(2).

The persons so appointed, though in fact feudal tenants of the Bishop, paying rent and other dues to him, exercised most of the powers of absolute owners and were known as lords of their respective vill; they occupied the rectorial mansion of the vill, and in a report of 1313 it is stated that "William de Bliburgh, when rector, had built a new chamber in the manor house" (of Leake) (3).

As lay rector de Bliburgh would also be responsible for maintenance of the chancel of the parish church, and it is recorded that between 1300 and 1313 he rebuilt the chancel of Leake Church.(4).

I have seen no record of the vicars of Leake over this period; if for "rectors" on page 417 of the Victoria County History, vol.1., one may read "vicars", they were appointed by the Archbishop until 1331 when, following a quarrel between the Bishop of Durham and the Archbishop a licence was issued to Louis, Bishop of Durham, to appropriate the church of Leake; thereafter the advowson followed the descent of the rectory manor. A vicarage was ordained in 1334 and was endowed with a set of rooms in the rectorial mansion. (5).

The rent of the vill at the time (1331) was 28s 8d per annum and this was paid to the Bishop by John de Leake(6), but, says the Victoria County History, no regular succession of tenants can be traced until the early 16th century when the Danbys first appeared in connection with Leake(7). They held what came to be known as the manor of Great Leake of the Bishop of Durham as of his rectory.(8).

The Danby Family of Leake.

This family is first recorded as the Bishop's tenants of the vill of Brawith(2½ miles south-west of Leake) from the 15th. to the 17th. centuries;(9) they had also been established since about 1360 as lords of Little Danby in the same Wapentake(10). It is evident that close connections existed between them and the family of de Bretteville(Britvil, Britevil), lords of the manor of Yafforth some six miles north-west of Leake, as in 1316 William de Bretteville and Richard de Danby were returned as joint lords of Yafforth. (11).

I quote above the County History's statement that "no regular succession of tenants of Leake can be traced until the early 16th. century when the Danbys, a family of recusants and royalists, first appear in connection with Leake"(12). The first part of the statement is true, but the second is not. It is contradicted by the record in the same volume(p.174) of the marriage, early in the 15th century of Katherine de Bretteville, daughter and heiress of John de Bretteville, Lord of Yafforth, with William, Lord of Leake.

On the death of John de Bretteville, Katherine succeeded to the state and William became lord of both manors, entitled to impale his arms with those of his wife, i.e. to divide his shield vertically into two halves, placing his own arms on the dexter (right) side with those of his wife on the left.

William and Katherine had a son named Robert, who died in 1463; he had three sons, Robert who married Elizabeth Aislabye of Thorpe Perrow and was knighted to become Sir Robert Danby of Thorpe Perrow; Ralph (or Radolph) of Yafforth, who was killed at Bosworth Field in 1485, and John who settled at Leake, being the first of his name to hold the manor (13).

With several manors, more or less adjacent, under their control the family would seem to have shared them out, no doubt amicably, as dictated by choice or circumstances. For example James, the next in descent, was known as "of Brawith" (14), while his brother William took over the lordship of Leake. William paid the subsidy in Leake in 1523 and 1542, and James that of Brawith in 1545 (15). William died in 1547 and in 1565 James settled both manors (Leake and Brawith) on his son William. (16).

Leake then followed the descent of Brawith in the family for several generations (17) through James of Brawith, Thomas of Leake and Thomas of Brawith, who succeeded in 1623 (18) and is suggested by the present writer as the probable builder of the present Leake Hall. Then to John Danby, who married first Mary Swinburne, of Capheaton, Northumberland, and secondly Mary Meynill of Kilvington (19) Both were daughters of old Catholic families.

Loyalty and his faith inevitably caused John to be involved in the struggle against Cromwell. I have no records of his activities but only of their sequel - in 1653 the Danby estates were sequestered and sold by the Treson Trustees (20), or perhaps only ordered to be sold, for John was allowed to compound for his offence and the estates were inherited by his son Anthony, born in 1653 (21). But the end of the Danby line was near, for Anthony's son Robert sold Leake in 1697 to Edmund Barstow, of Northallerton. (22).

The Danbys are described as a family of recusants and royalists (23) and it seems probable that, as in other remote parts of the country the fluctuating tide of the Reformation flowed past them almost unheeded. Even after the sale of Leake the manor remained in the hands of old Catholic families in south Durham- the Smiths of Burn Hall and the Salvins of Croxdale. (24). This raises the question as to the likelihood of there being a priest's hiding-place at Leake Hall; the answer is that none has come to light, and had one existed it could have been in a part of the building long demolished.

From the Salvins the estate passed to one Samuel Popplewell, and in 1803 it was purchased by Warcop Consett of Brawith, thereafter following the descent of Brawith. (25).

During the First World War the owner was Admiral Consett who decided shortly after the war to sell Leake and retain Brawith. The purchaser was Mr. Ernst Guthe, of Kepwick, and Leake is still in the hands of his trustees. The present tenants are Mr. & Mrs. G.E. Peacock.

Description.

I have suggested that the Hall was built by Thomas Danby, who succeeded to the estate in 1623; its architecture conforms to that of the middle of the 17th century, a period of the English Renaissance before the fading echo of Gothic had quite given place to the stricter classicism of Inigo Jones and his successors.

Originally H-shaped, with a central Hall block flanked by projecting wings, is is now T-shaped, having lost the whole of the north wing and at least half of its Hall block. It is approached by a drive leading from the Thirsk-Stockton road past the church to its present entrance a modern door in what remains of the Hall block. This consists of a

two storey building of about 24-foot frontage abutting on the south wing. It was formerly of the same height as the south wing but has been reduced, as may be seen by the broken masonry at its junction with the south wing. The frontage is pierced at or near its centre by a doorway with a conspicuous "Gibbsian" surround of rusticated masonry of the 18th century. A modern kitchen of red brick has been added on the left of the old building.

The South wing, some 75 feet long and 24 feet wide is rectangular, of three storeys, with gables facing east and west. The windows are mainly stone-mullioned with two lights and a cross transom. Moulded string courses encircle the building at the height of the heads of the ground and first floor windows, for which they serve as drip-courses. Most of the original leaded glazing remains but many of the windows are blocked, a sad reminder of the window tax.

The South front has two projecting chimney-stacks evenly placed towards the outer corners of the front, and near the centre, a little below eaves level, a horizontal oval stone-framed window which lights the stair-head. Its position, awkwardly intruding upon the wall-plate, is due to the lowering at some period of the height of the wall; there is a door in this front opening from the foot of the staircase.

Returning to the hall block and entering by the door in the west front, we arrive in a passage running left to the new kitchen, and right, past the 18th century entrance, to the south wing. Opposite, on the other side of the passage is a large room with no recognisable features of the past (unless it be the windows?).

The whole of this area, devoid of the interior walls and partitions represents in fact the "high" or dais end of the Great Hall of Leake Manor.

In proportion to the size of the south wing the Great Hall at Leake might have been between forty and fifty feet long, with its entrance and screens passage at the "low" end adjoining the wing containing the kitchen and service quarters, with its dais at the "high" end.

Turning right in the passage, we pass the 18th century entrance and within a few yards are confronted by the imposing oak staircase which runs in six shallow flights to the top floor; alongside is an open passage leading to the door in the south wall mentioned above.

We are now in the south wing which is divided by the staircase into two unequal parts.

The remainder of the west end of the wing is taken up by a large room, almost certainly the Parlour or Dining-Parlour of the mansion; this retains its original fireplace and oak panelling on its inner wall, but the remainder having been removed owing to decay the other walls are panelled only to dado height.

On the east side of the staircase one would have expected to find another of the private apartments, but in fact the passage from the foot of the stairs leads past a small store-room to a large room occupying all the east of the wing. It has a high beamed ceiling and various fittings, including hooks in the main beam, suggest its use as a larder. Steps lead to a cellar below.

On the first floor, over the Parlour, is a large bedroom, probably the "master" bedroom, with windows facing south (now blocked) and west.

wing, the sand portion cannot be determined, but it would have been

At the other end of the wing, past a passage leading to the room over the hall block and a small bedroom, is the most interesting survival of the interior- a large oak-panelled room, probably the solar of the mansion. The panelling is of two or three different patterns suggesting that some or all of it may have been brought from elsewhere and adapted to the room. The finest section is that which covers the west wall; this consists of linen-fold panelling, all the panels above 5'6" from the floor being carved to imitate folded linen. The period of this is rather earlier than the presumed date of the house, but with its two doors (one the entrance, the other a cupboard) it fits exactly to the wall. (Could the owner, when building his new Hall, have designed a room expressly to accommodate this exceptional feature?).

Above the entrance door is a carved oak panel, integral with the rest, depicting the "arms of Danby": 3 chevrons broached, in chief 3 molets (for Danby) quartered with 6 billets ermine 3,2,1 (for de Bretteville).

As stated above William Danby, on succeeding to Yafforth, was entitled to impale his arms with those of his wife, but the evidence of the carving just described confirms that in fact he quartered them. (26).

one mind

Apart from stating that it was H-shaped I have made no attempt to describe Leake Hall when it was completed (as I have suggested) around the middle of the 17th century. In accordance with the normal plan there would have been a wing at the north end of the hall block, running parallel to and conforming in size and appearance with the south wing. In the absence of exploratory digs in the probable area of this situated between 40 and 50 feet from the south wing; this depends entirely upon the actual length of the Great Hall which occupied all the intervening space.

This was the service wing, containing the kitchen, larder, pantry cellar, and servants' quarters.

Some description of the typical Great Hall may here be relevant. These were of two types- one rising to the full height of the building with exposed roof-timbers, and the other divided horizontally at or about first floor level, creating rooms above. The former type was in course of time often converted to the latter, but at Leake the Hall appears always to have had rooms above. I have referred above to some normal features of the Hall- the entrance, screens passage and dais, none of which has survived. The entrance was (at the period in question) at the low end of the Hall, opening into the screens passage, an area partitioned off from the body of the Hall by an oak or (less usually) a stone screen. This passage, which had another door at the further end, served both as a lobby and as a service passage, having one or more doors into the service wing. At the high end was a dais or platform, raised a foot or so above the rest of the floor, upon which the lord, the family, and his guests took their meals; it had generally a well-lighted bay projecting into the forecourt (I have found no trace of such a feature at Leake). Somewhere between the screens and the dais would be a large open fireplace, on one side or another.

What happened, then, to reduce Leake Hall to its present state? I offer some suggestions based purely on conjecture.

In 1653 the Danby estates were sequestered by the treason trustees and ordered to be sold, but this was not carried out, as the owner was allowed to compound for his offence. We do not know what this cost him but doubtless the sum was considerable. Supposing the estate to have been so impoverished as to prevent proper maintenance, and that when it was sold 44 years later it was in bad repair, and that by the early 18th century (27) some of it was ruinous, the then owner (Smith or

Salvin) may have decided upon a rescue operation, demolishing the whole of the north wing and about half of the south block, walling off what was left as we now see it. A new entrance was required, and this was made, as described, in the centre of the new frontage. It led into a passage running left and right, and the remaining space was taken up by a large room, a sort of truncated Great Hall. Mrs. Peacock tells me that there was a large stone archway at the north end of this room which suggests that it may have been adapted to use as a kitchen; perhaps it was at this time that the east end of the south wing was converted to provide such essential adjuncts to a kitchen as a larder.

While regretting the loss of such a considerable part of Leake Hall we can still take pleasure in the attractive building which remains, and be thankful that it is being maintained in a sound condition.

- (1) Victoria County History of the North Riding. 1914. Vol. 1, p411.
- (2)-(7) Ibid.
- (8) Ibid. p412.
- (9) Ibid. p413.
- (10) Ibid. p173.
- (11) Ibid. p174.
- (12) Ibid. p411.
- (13) Ibid. p174.
- (14, 15, 16, 18, 19) I am indebted to Dr. Eric Gee of York for a family tree of the Danby family.
- (17) V.C.H. p412.
- (20) Ibid. p413.
- (21-22) Ibid. p412.
- (23-24) Ibid. p412.
- (25) Ibid. p412.
- (26) This was contrary to current heraldic practice but I find in Robson's British Herald, Sunderland, 1850, the following: "From the reign of Edward I to that of Henry VII it was frequently the practice with the English nobility to quarter the arms of the wife," and "Nisbet informs us that it is the custom in Scotland, when a man marries an heiress, to quarter his arms with her paternal coat". Cf. also Shakespeare: "Twelfth Night II, 5".
- (27) A slight clue to the period is afforded by the Gibbsian door surround; Gibbs flourished during the first half of the 18th century. But it is not suggested that Gibbs was employed at Leake.

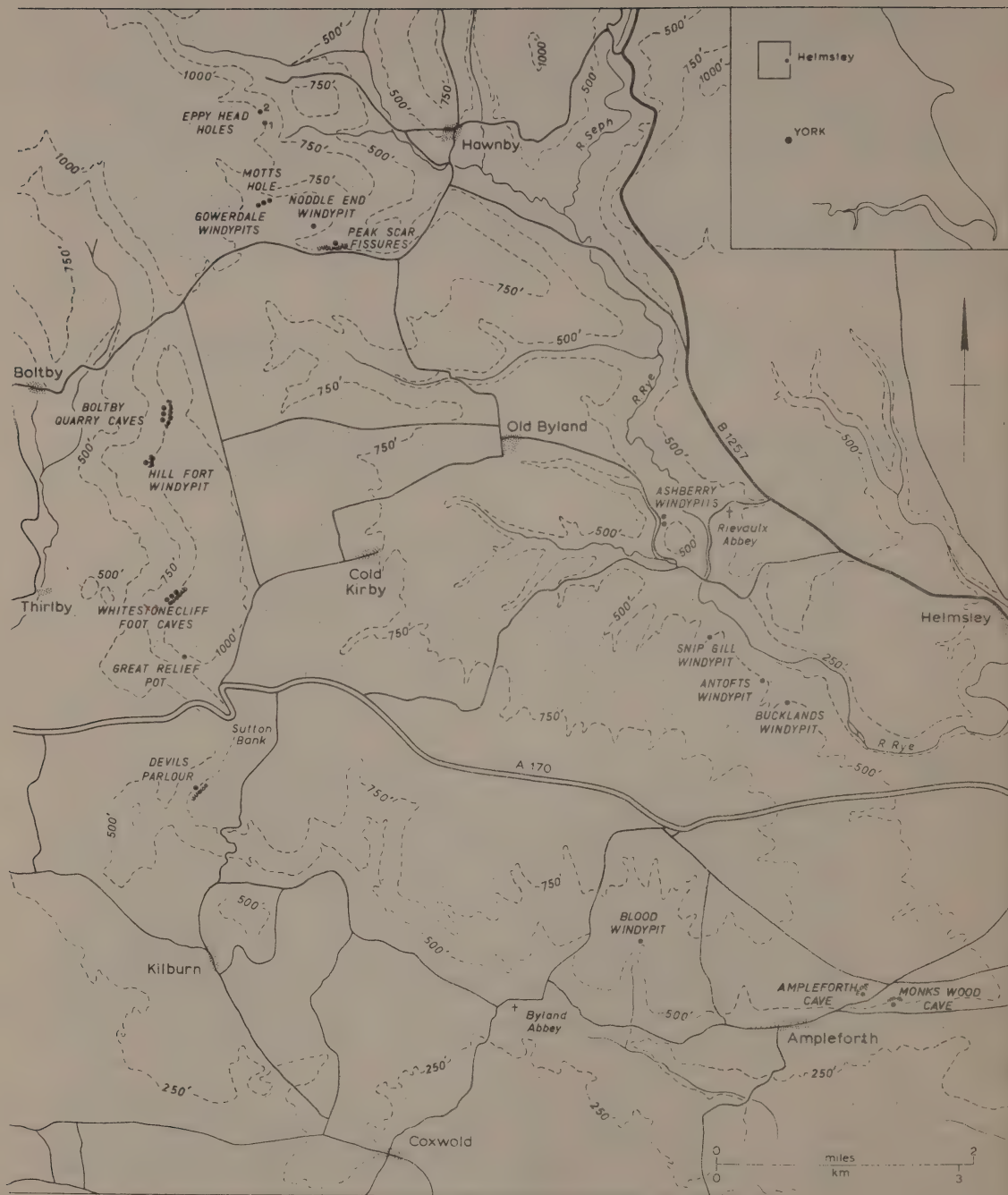


Fig.1. The North Yorkshire windypits - location map

(reproduced by permission of the British Cave Research Association).
Based on the Ordnance Survey map with the permission of The
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The Discovery and Exploration of the North Yorkshire Windypits

by Roger G.Cooper.

The windypits in the Hambleton Hills were known to Neolithic man, but their rediscovery in modern times has been a protracted endeavour extending at intervals over the last 150 years. Their exploration, at times hazardous, has attracted geologists, local historians, archaeologists and cavers. This article traces the history of their discovery and examines the development of ideas concerning their origin.

The Hambleton Hills are formed of Corallian rocks of Upper Jurassic age, an interfingering series of oolitic limestones and calcareous sandstones up to 110m thick (1). The Corallian strata horizontally overlie Oxford clay, which in Yorkshire is generally a grey sandy shale(2). The windypits are a series of vertical or near-vertical fissures in the Corallian, which are wide enough to be entered and explored. Often they are roofed over by boulders. Their locations are shown in Figure 1.

The Rev. William Buckland.

The first widely available account of a descent of a windypit is vested with a special significance, as the explorer was William Buckland. The Rev. Dr. Buckland was a catastrophist, and in his time the leading geological defender of the Mosaic account of the Flood(3). He was concerned in many publications to emphasise that rivers are inadequate to carve their valleys. He invoked instead the Biblical Flood as an apparently all-sufficient landform-moulding agent (4). In July 1822, he travelled to North Yorkshire (5) in order to revisit Kirkdale Cave, which he had investigated the previous year(6). He was accompanied by Sir Humphry Davy (7), who was then President of the Royal Society, and Mr. Henry Warburton, F.R.S., who was later President of the Geological Society and one of the founders of London University(8). Buckland, later to become Dean of Westminster, was at that time thirty-nine years old, the newly appointed first Professor of Geology and Mineralogy at Oxford. After visiting Kirkdale and several small caves in the vicinity of Kirkbymoorside, they travelled a few miles westward to Helmsley, to stay at Duncombe Park, the seat of Mr. Charles Duncombe. The Duncombe estate at that time extended over much of the North York Moors, and included all the caves and fissures which Buckland investigated in the area.

In 'Reliquiae Diluvianae' (1823), his major statement regarding the Flood, Buckland gave an account of discoveries during the visit to Mr. Duncombe.

The newly-discovered fissure in Duncombe Park is a great irregular crack or chasm... One of Mr. Duncombe's park keepers had been for many years aware of the existence of bones in this chasm, but had never mentioned it till my second visit to Duncombe Park, when we examined it, descending by means of a rope.(9)

He described the location of the fissure as follows:

It is... in the solid limestone rock, which forms a steep and lofty cliff on the right side of the valley of the Rye, being in that most beautiful valley of denudation which descends from Rivaulx Abbey through Duncombe Park to the town of Helmsley.(10)

It is significant that he referred to Ryedale as a 'valley of denudation' since he also gave a definition of such valleys as 'spaces...laid bare by the sweeping away of the solid materials that had before filled them' as a result of a gigantic agent which 'appears to have operated universally on the surface of our planet, at the period of the deluge'.(11)

He then gave a description of the fissure.

The crack... terminates..in a small aperture about twenty feet long and three or four feet broad, which is almost concealed and overgrown with bushes, and..nearly at right angles to the edge of the cliff... It descends obliquely downwards, and presents several ledges or landing places and irregular lateral chambers, the floors of which are strewed over with loose angular fragments of limestone, fallen from the sides and roof, and with dislocated skeletons of animals that have from time to time fallen in from above and perished.(12)

About its origin he wrote:

The crack has probably been formed by a subsidence of part of the cliff towards the valley.(13)

It seems that Buckland did not regard the fissure as a 'cave', as this explanation differs markedly from his views on cave formation. The conventional view at the time was that the Flood had completely dissolved the crust of the earth, and that the caves had been produced afterwards by the evolution of gases, while the rock was still unconsolidated (14). Buckland, although believing in the universality of the Flood, recognised the influence on cave alignment of pre-existing fissures in the rock, and deduced that the softer material had been removed by solution or suspension, owing to gradual percolation of water.(15)

Although it is not explicitly stated, it would seem from his suggestion as to the origin of the fissure that Buckland recognised at this time that the 'valley of denudation' could be subject to widening by other processes (in this case 'subsidence') after and possibly as a result of the Flood. In later publications he acknowledged that some valleys cannot be formed by 'denudation' alone. Hence in 1824 he wrote: 'other valleys have been occasioned by some partial slip or dislocation of portions of the strata'(16) He distinguished 'valleys of elevation', where fracturing along the crests of anticlines occurred, subsequently modified by 'diluvial' action (17). This notion, with its corollary of formations subsiding on the slippery beds below them(18) could have been in ~~loose~~ by his observations in the Duncombe Park fissure.

He discussed the contents of the fissure at some length.

The..fissure..differs from those we have been last describing in the circumstance of its being of post-diluvian origin; it contains no diluvial sediment and no pebbles.. and has within it the remains of animals of existing species only.. we found it to contain the skeletons of dogs, sheep, deer, goats, and hogs, lodged at various places on the landing places I have just mentioned: the

bones lay loose and naked on the actual spots on which the animals had died, and to which they had probably fallen when passing carelessly along the surface of the Park above: they were neither broken nor buried in loam, nor incrustated with stalagmite, as at Kirkdale, but simply stripped of their flesh; they are not adherent to the tongue when fractured, but retain much more animal matter, and are in all respects more fresh and recent, than those which occur at Kirkdale entombed beneath the loam.(19)

The comment on the absence of 'diluvial' sediment or pebbles in the Duncombe Park fissure (which is now generally called 'Buckland's windypit') may now be taken as an indication of a post-glacial rather than a 'post-diluvian' age, since in 1840 Buckland was so influenced by the glacial theory of Louis Agassiz that he became a leading advocate of the view that the phenomena which had previously been attributed to the action of the Flood were in fact results of the former presence of glaciers. (20)

In summary the chief geomorphological significance of Buckland's brief account of the visit to the Duncombe Park fissure is that it provides an early indication of the realisation that processes other than the Deluge could influence the course of valley widening. By 1829 he was able to write of 'the multitude of disturbing causes by which the earth's surface has been affected'(21).

Victorian Explorations.

One of the next authors to mention fissures in the area was the local historian, Thomas Gill. In 'Vallis Eboracensis', 1852 (22), he describes features found at Roulston Scar and Whitestone Cliff, the two great inland cliffs of the west-facing Hambleton escarpment. Of Roulston Scar he wrote: 'On the side of the rocky wall is a fissure opening into a small narrow cavern, called the Devil's Parlour...' (23) He gave a more lengthy account of features at Whitestone Cliff:

In an almost inaccessible part of the rock is a large cave called "The Fairies' Parlour"... A large crevice of the rock forms the entrance, after which another descent...introduces you to the area of the cave, with a projecting arch of twenty or thirty feet in height, very spacious, and running in a parallel line some twenty or thirty yards.. Not far from the mouth.. is another mysterious cavern which penetrates the solid rock for a considerable distance..extending as near as could be ascertained about thirty yards. (24)

Gill claimed that these openings in the rock were the effect of volcanic eruption. Views on cave origins had advanced since the 1820's and C.G.C. Bischof (25) had measured the amount of calcium carbonate carried in rivers from limestone areas, deducing that rainwater containing carbon dioxide was competent to hollow out caves by solution. John Phillips (26) applied these ideas in discussion of caves in Yorkshire. Clearly, Gill like Buckland appreciated that the fissures in the Hambleton Hills were not 'caves' in the generally accepted sense, differing from them markedly in their apparent origins.

The "Fairies' Parlour" was visited in 1859 by William Grainge(27) who located it about midway along the foot of Whitestone Cliff, and wrote:

The upper part or roof appears to have been formed by the accidental falling together of large fragments of rock, and the cave itself is only one of those natural fissures, common in all limestone districts. (28)

In the 1890 edition of his 'Cheap and Popular Guide to Helmsley and District'(29), Isaac Cooper hinted at the presence of holes, which could be windypits, at the end of the spur which projects between Borough Beck and Eton Gill, north of Helmsley: 'there are several old holes called by some Britons' dwellings. Within the last 60 years several of these have been filled up by stones gathered from the land'.

The Hambleton and Ryedale area was surveyed geologically during the 1880's, but the surveyor, C.Fox-Strangways, does not make reference to the windypits in his account, merely noting that 'Other caverns (besides Kirkdale) exist at Kirkby Moorside; in Duncombe Park; and in Riccal Dale, but they have not attracted much attention'(30).

The Yorkshire Ramblers' Club.

There are no further accounts of the windypits until the 1930's, when several fissures in the area were visited by members of the Yorkshire Ramblers' Club. They were perhaps the first to put into print the word 'windypit', a local term the origin of which is probably recent(31).

Because of Fox-Strangways' work(1892) on the stratigraphy of the area (32), they were able to relate their observations to the geology. They descended Buckland's windypit, and found a series of passages beneath the first 90 ft. fissure, descending about 150ft. in all (33). They also visited a fissure on Ashberry Hill, opposite Rievaulx, observing that 'these windypits are all in the Lower Corallian overlying Oxford Clay. The rocks have fissured and slipped towards the valleys '(34). A later party visited two fissures on the south side of Gowerdale, near Hawnby, repeating the observation that 'the Lower Corallian has slipped towards the dale over the Oxford Clay '(35). They noted that in Duncombe Park a second fissure had been found, which lay near Antofts farm-house, and was of little interest as it was blocked by rubbish. They provided a numbering scheme for the windypits:

- I- Helmsley (i.e. Buckland's)
- II- Antofts.
- III- Ashberry.
- IV) Gowerdale.
- V)

Major explorations, 1939-1960.

The windypits were visited from 1939 onwards by a group of local youths under the leadership of Raymond H. Hayes, together with members of the Scarborough and District Archaeological Society (36). There is evidence that several were descended by servicemen stationed at Duncombe Park during the Second World War (37). In

1949 the investigations of students from Leeds University, assisted by Raymond Hayes, culminated in the systematic exploration of all the known fissures in the area. Studies were confined to upper Ryedale and its tributary valleys, and did not include the fissures described by Thomas Gill. As a result of this work, E.P. Fitton and D. Mitchell published detailed descriptions of fissures at nine locations together with surveys of five of the largest (38). In addition to Buckland's (also known as Buckland's Deer Park Windypit and Helmsley Windypit) and Antofts Windypit, they described another fissure within the bounds of Duncombe Park, at Snip Gill (also known as Slip Gill Windypit). They described the fissure at Ashberry Hill and one of the two fissures found by the Yorkshire Ramblers' Club at Gowerdale. They also visited fissures at Greencliffe Hag, Noddle End, Peak Scar and Eppy Head.

Previous authors on the windypits had all responded to the unusual nature of the fissures which they had descended by proposing mechanisms for their formation. Fitton and Mitchell, because they had descended so many fissures, were able to describe in detail just what it is about the windypits that makes them different and noteworthy, and they seem to have been the first to have appreciated that an adequate explanation of their mode of formation might not necessarily be simple. They observed the absence of streams or old stream passages, and the absence of a lower outlet to any of the fissures. This was direct evidence against a solutional origin, although they did find some limestone formations attributable to seepage of rainwater. They noted that 'every windypit takes the form of a major vertical or near-vertical fissure, of indefinite length, with one or more minor fissures crossing or entering it'. In observing that windypits tend to be found at the heads of slopes, in the transition zone between the steepest slope and the plateau top, they had to note exceptions at Peak Scar, where the fissures open onto a vertical limestone cliff, and at Noddle End, where the windypit lies on the top of a narrow spur between two valleys. They observed that the major fissure of each windypit tends to run parallel to the contour lines, except where the contours are themselves curved, for example around the end of a spur, where the major fissures can be normal to the contours. They did not find any fissures that penetrated right through the Corallian to reach the Oxford Clay beneath.

Using this evidence and the stratigraphical account provided by Fox-Strangways (39), they concluded that the Oxford Clay had 'run out into the valleys from its outcrop, leaving the rocks above it partially unsupported'. This had given rise to bending in the newer rock, resulting in radial and tangential tensional splitting. They supported this contention by referring to ideas put forward in 1944 by S.E. Hollingworth, J.H. Taylor and G.A. Kellaway (40). These authors had described an apparently similar process in the Northampton Ironstone field, involving 'cambering' and 'gulling'. Cambering was defined as 'the process whereby outcropping or near-surface strata have been lowered towards the valleys', and gulling as a process in which steeply-inclined fissures or joints, normally parallel to the surface contours, have been opened out' (41). Many years earlier Beeby Thompson (42) had suggested that within the Northampton Ironstone field superincumbent massive strata might slip on wet lubricated clays during or after periods of heavy rainfall. In addition, H. Preston (43) had suggested that subsurface material could be washed out at the spring line, which would also tend to produce cambering and gulling. Fitton and Mitchell (44) stated that they were unable to decide which of these processes had been responsible for the formation of the windypits.

A further visit was paid to the Ryedale area by the Yorkshire Ramblers' Club early in the 1950's, and a third fissure found on the south side of Gowerdale (45). It was numbered "Windypit VI". Unlike numbers IV and V it was not on the plateau top, but about thirty feet down the steep valley slope. Other exploration work in the area was being carried out at this time by school-boys from Ampleforth College. Their major achievement came in 1955 when they forced their way through the rubbish choke a short distance into Antofts Windypit and found a ramifying series of passages beneath (46). In 1952 a pre-historic beaker was found on a ledge in Snip Gill Windypit. Its age has been estimated as 3700 years (47). This stimulated much interest among local archaeologists, led again by Raymond Hayes. Members of Scarborough and District Archaeological Society, the Helmsley and District Group of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, and the Clinker Club, discovered several more fragments of beakers in Buckland's, Antofts and Ashberry Windypits, and also found human skulls, skeletons, hearth sites and other artefacts (48).

A contemporary paper on 'Caves and Glaciation' by G.I. Warwick (49) made a significant refinement of Fitton and Mitchell's ideas on the origin of the windypits. While agreeing that they are caused by the clay flowing into the valleys, he suggested that this movement took place during a periglacial period (50). In the period of thaw following glaciation, great volumes of ice locked up in the overlying permeable rock would melt, causing saturation and consequent softening and flow of the impermeable clay below.

Recent Discoveries.

The 1960's saw a curtailment of activity as access to the archaeologically productive Duncombe Park Windypits was forbidden. However, the Yorkshire Ramblers' Club's "Windypit VI", on the south side of Gowerdale, was rediscovered and surveyed by members of the Bradford Pothole Club, who named it Motts Hole (51). A few years later members of the same club also visited Ashberry and Antofts windypits (52). On this occasion it was noted that 'at no point can one reach a solid bottom'. The floor of each windypit was found to consist of boulders jammed in the rift. The fissures were ascribed to 'cracking of the landmass as it arose out of the sea', an idea which G.P. Leedal had previously put forward in the caving literature, in describing the Pan Hole, a fissure in gritstone near Bingley, West Yorkshire (53). Schoolboys from Ampleforth College maintained their interest throughout the period, and in 1966 K.D.B. Williams gave a map of the locations of eleven windypits known to them (54). These included those listed by Fitton and Mitchell and the Yorkshire Ramblers' Club, together with a fissure on the south side of Caydale. In 1970 D. Brown described the discovery and exploration, by members of the Yorkshire Underground Research Team, of Hill Fort Windypit, at Boltby Scar (55). This lies on the Hambleton escarpment, away from the Ryedale area and closer to the fissures explored by Gill in the previous century.

The presence in the Hambleton Hills of cambers and gulls, and of caves formed by them, has been recognised by Professor J.E. Hemingway (56) who attributed the instability of the White Horse of Kilburn to its position on a cambered escarpment face, and has traced the occurrence of large cambered blocks several miles

northwards along the Hambleton escarpment.

The last five years have seen greatly increased activity involving the discovery of several fissures, the re-survey of some of the well-known larger ones, and a first survey of some others. This work has been carried out by two groups, the Ampleforth College Venture Scout Unit, and the Moldywarps Speleological Group, an informal caving club based in the Teesside area. Members of the Ampleforth College Venture Scout Unit have discovered Monks Wood Cave, Ampleforth Cave and Blood Windypit, which are situated in the southern slopes of the Hambleton Hills overlooking the Coxwold-Gilling valley, and Great Relief Pot, which is at Sutton Bank, close to the fissures described by Gill (57).

Members of the Moldywarps Speleological Group have explored an extensive series of passages opened up by archaeological excavations on Ashberry Hill. In a detailed account of the Ashberry Windypits, P.F. Ryder has suggested that in the upper levels individual 'blocks of hillside' have moved on bedding planes, slipping in different directions, not necessarily parallel to the blocks above and below them (58). Further, G.M. Davies and P.F. Ryder have stressed the influence of geological structure on windypit form: 'The "stepped" nature of most of the fissures evidences bedding plane control.... joint control is evidenced by the right-angled corners in some fissures, and also by the manner in which some passages suddenly end in a blank wall' (59). This is a clear suggestion that the movement of blocks of Corallian rock towards the valley has not followed bending and 'splitting' of the rock, as was suggested by Fitton and Mitchell, but has utilised pre-existing planes of weakness in the rock.

Volume 5 of the guidebook to Northern Caves (60) published in 1974, contains a section on Ryedale which provides brief descriptions of most of the windypits mentioned in the literature, the only additional discovery mentioned being Great Relief Pot. A more recent review (61) provides descriptions of all the known windypits, many of which are accompanied by surveys. This includes three hitherto undescribed fissures at the foot of Whitestone Cliff. Unfortunately it has not proved possible to determine whether any of these is the 'Fairies Parlour' or the 'other mysterious cavern' described by Gill. The same review describes an additional fissure at Peak Scar. R.G. Cooper, R.A. Halliwell and P.F. Ryder (62) have described three fissures, believed to be partly solutional and partly non-solutional in origin, at Boltby Quarry, on the Hambleton edge. Most recently, members of the Moldywarps Speleological Group have found their way into substantial extensions at Noddle End Windypit (63).

Discussion

Progress in the exploration of the windypits has been rather erratic over the years. The initial impetus given to windypit studies by William Buckland was not maintained, indeed his work lay forgotten until E.P. Fitton and D. Mitchell re-published his account. Later explorers have been spurred on to make discoveries for a variety of motives. Pre-eminent among these has been simply the thrill of discovery, but many extensions to known windypits have been found as a direct consequence of the search for archaeological material. The recent spate of discoveries of small fissures is probably due to the increase of interest in caving as a sport. As cavers become more numerous, 'new' caves are harder to come by, and the search for them is intensified and carried out with greater care. The total of known currently-enterable windypits is now twenty-six,

although access is still forbidden to the three in Duncombe Park. As Raymond Hayes has remarked, 'that others will be found is certain; many more could be entirely blocked at the entrance by debris or decaying vegetation' (64).

In the present century, attempts to explain the formation of the windypits have centred around studies of similarities in details of form and location. If some of the more improbable theories which have been put forward are discounted, a broad consensus view emerges, involving widening of the joints in the Corallian, as blocks move toward the valleys on near-horizontal slip-planes, probably under periglacial conditions. There has been little discussion of their age, but William Buckland's ascription of a 'post-diluvian' age is conformable with G.T. Warwick's suggestion of a periglacial mode of origin.

Clearly, the processes involved in these movements are as yet imperfectly understood, but foundations for further study have been windypits so far has been the extent to which their exotic nature has kindled in those who have explored them a desire to explain their origins.

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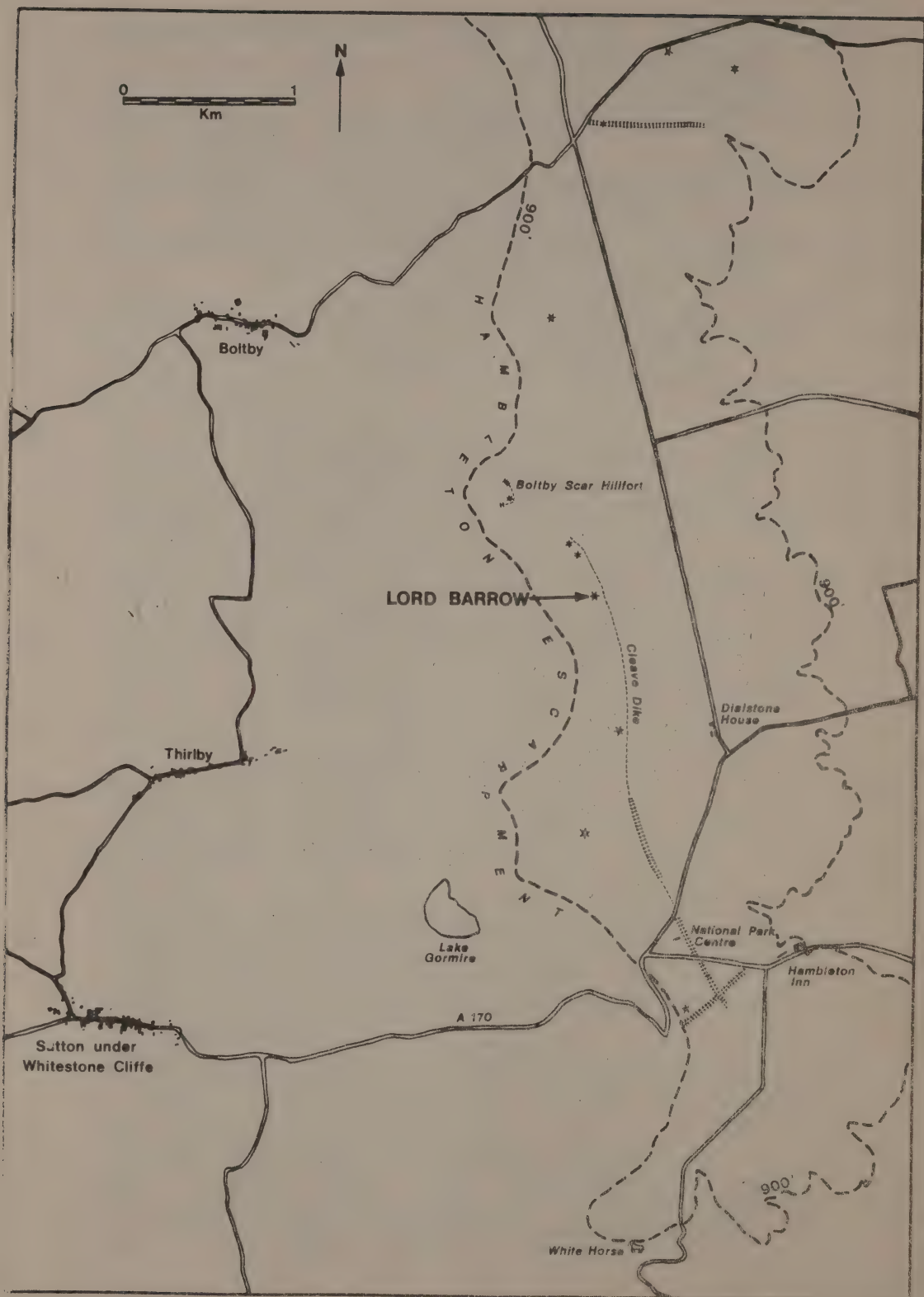


Fig. 1 Based upon the 1960 Ordnance Survey 2½" map with the permission of The Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Crown Copyright Reserved.

A Beaker Burial from Hambleton Moor

by Margaret Smith.

Immediately prior to deep ploughing of the area in 1961, a tumulus situated at SE 51128507, in the parish of Boltby, was excavated by the late 'Tot' Lord, of Town Head, Settle.

The site lies on limestone at a height of circa 315m.O.D., some 230m. from the western scarp of the Hambleton Hills and 260m. SE of the more southerly of two prominent unploughed barrows.

In December 1977 the tumulus appeared as a heavily ploughed earthen swelling, circa 0.75m. high and spread to a diameter of 21m., lighter in colour than the rest of the field.

A trench, no longer visible, was cut through the mound to reveal at the centre the crouched skeleton of a girl in her early teens, lying on her right side. She was accompanied by a Primary Southern beaker (1), inverted, two stone 'tools', a used quartzite pebble and thirteen pieces of flint which included a leaf shaped point.

The Finds.

The Beaker. Fig. 2,a.

A Primary Southern (SI) beaker, Lanting and van der Waals(2) Step 5.

Maximum dimensions:	14.9cms. high.
	10.8cms. mouth diameter.
	8.0 cms. base diameter.

Decorated with vertical comb impressions bounded by horizontal lines of sub-rectangular impressions. The comb decoration consists of recessed lengths of up to 4 tooth impressions of c.1mm. diameter.

The fabric is hard with a smooth outer surface and no obvious grits. Lighter areas of the face approximate to Brown B4 and 5 of the CBA Colour Chart.

Rim Sherd. Fig. 2,b.

Possibly from contracted mouth accessory vessel. Decorated with horizontal cord impressed lattice on body and incised vertical herring-bone on bevel.

The Lithic Assemblage.

Fig.2,c.	Grey sandstone 'pestle', 16 cms. L. The shaping may be chiefly natural but the extremities are damaged and the faceted end has probably resulted from use. Apart from some pits and grooves, the surface is very smooth, perhaps from contact with the hand.
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Fig.2,d.	Mica schist, 8.2 cms. L., May be the remains of an implement but the fabric is too soft for much practical use. Mica schist is not native to the area and may have occurred as a glacial erratic. Very smooth on level face.
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- Fig.2,e. Yellow quartzite pebble, 3.8 cms. L., with traces of wear round edge, especially pronounced at one short end.
- Fig.2,f. Flint. Grey leaf point, 3.3 cms. L..Both surfaces are ground down and smoothed. There is some edge damage and the longer sides, square in section, which exhibit an area of high polish where hatched on figure, may have been prepared for further flaking. Examples of similar polishing occur in the East Riding.(3).
- Fig.2,g. Flint. Brown flake, 3.7 cms. L., with areas of cortex. The slight edge damage may result from use as a graver or from a short period of utilisation only.
- Fig.2,h. Flint, whitish.Possible scraper, 2.0 cms. L.. Used only for a short time or on soft material.
- Fig.2,j. Flint, whitish.Possible end of blade,1.2 cms.L.

The remainder of the flints are waste flakes.

Report on human bones from the Hambleton Beaker Burial.

All bones are fragmentary. The epiphyseal separation suggests an age of 14-15 years, but the unerupted 3rd. molars and lack of attrition of the teeth suggests that the individual concerned could be as young as 12. The left side of the skeleton is slightly better represented than the right. The left ilium is not complete but shows a wide shallow sciatic notch, which taking into account the age of the individual, suggests the sex was female. All teeth and bones suggest that the person was not suffering from any supportive tissue or malnutritional diseases at termination.

The Remaining Bones.

1. Fragments of the frontal bone.
2. Central portion of dentary with left 3 in situ.
3. 22 teeth with no signs of calculus or caries and all four 8s unerupted.

Dental formula	right	8	7	4	3	2	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
							2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

N.B.Lower left 2 does not appear to fit dentary

4. Glenoid area of left scapula
5. Parts of 4 lumbar vertebrae and fragments of sacrum(S1 and S2)
6. Distal third of shaft of right humerus
7. Proximal third of shaft of right ulna close to adult size, but with epiphysis unfused.
8. Distal third of left humerus with trochlea fused but medial epicondyle enfused.
9. Distal two thirds of shaft of slender right femur. No condyles present.
10. Fragment of right tibia at nutrient foramen.
A/P diameter 24.2 mm.
Trans " 19.1 mm.
11. Distal threequarters of left femur with unfused condyles
Max A/P diameter mid shaft 22.7 mm.
Min Trans " " " 20.2 mm.

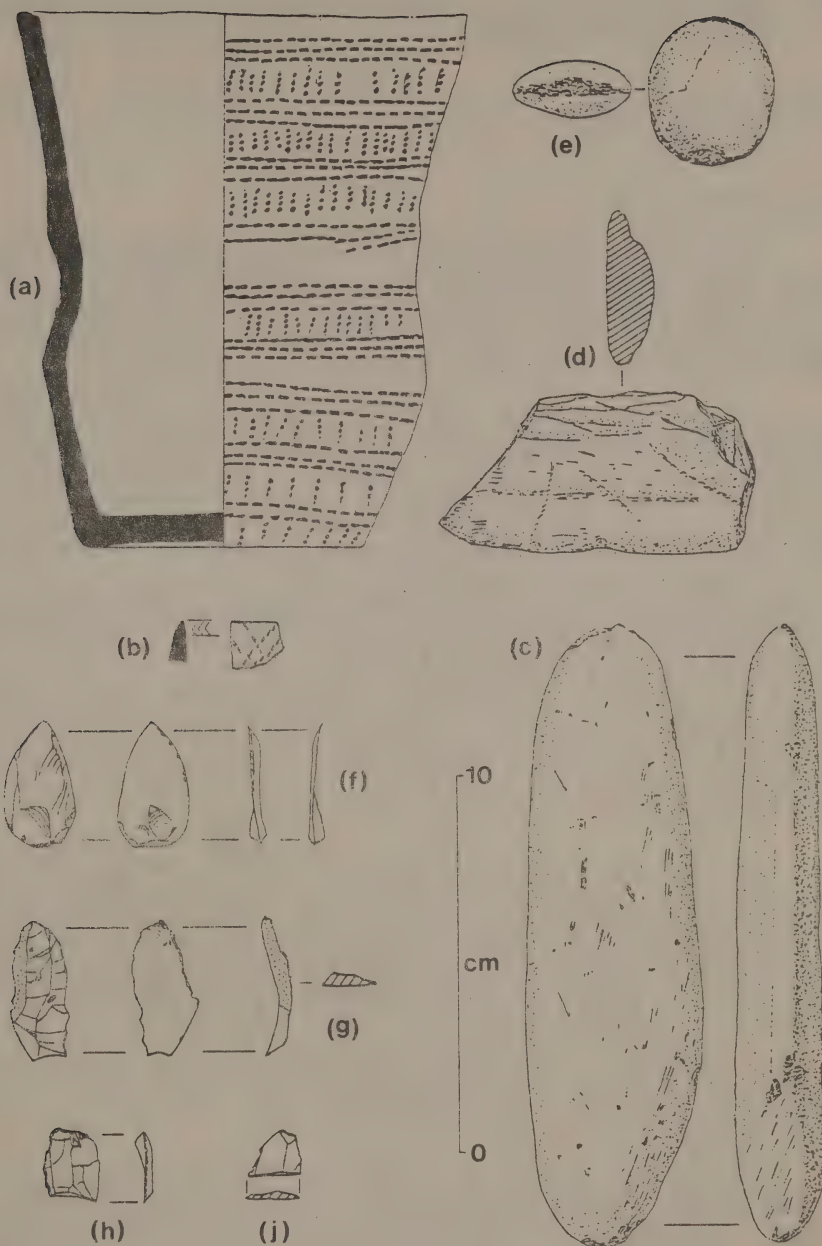


FIG. 2

The finds from the Lord barrow.

12. Proximal third of left tibia, no epiphysis

Trans diameter 18.8 mm.

13. Left patella

14. Incomplete left ilium, apparently unfused to ischium and pubis.
Sciatic notch damaged.

Dr. R.W.Brown.

20th October 1977.

Discussion

Apart from such sites as Nanny Howe(4) and Orchard Hills (5) Egton, beaker-associated burials have so far, as in this instance been located on the fringes of the North York Moors. These burials have been chiefly by inhumation (6), a rite with a peripheral distribution and infrequently confirmed on the high moors, Loose Howe (7) being a probable exception.

In the East Riding, the nearest area with a statistically valid number of inhumations, the crouched position is the norm until the period of the La Tène cemeteries, at least (8). The orientation of the Hambleton skeleton is unknown but the placing of the body on the right side, as indicated by the differential survival of the bones, accords with the findings of Tuckwell(9) in East Yorkshire for female burials accompanied by beakers of Step 4 and later (c. 1850-1750.C.).(10)

'The associations... resemble artifacts associated with Copper smiths' graves like the one at Winterbourne Monkton (Corpus figs. 897-8).. (11) (letter from Dr. D.L.Clarke to writer, 6.4.1976.) Clarke concluded, however, that the group of 'artifacts' were more probably 'accidentally similar female working tools'. The leaf point (fig. 2,f.) has an area of high polish on one long side which could have been produced by contact with metal but of the 47 Primary Southern beakers listed by Clarke only two are associated with metal artifacts, in both cases with bronze awls. (12).

Butler (13) considered that the gold basket earrings from beneath the rampart at Boltby fort (14) might be Iron Age 'loot' from a robbed beaker grave but they are of a type normally found with All Over Corded and European Bell beakers (15) which are generally accepted as heading the sequence of European beakers. In 1959, an almost certainly domestic assemblage with Bell beaker from Antofts Windypit provided a date of 3750+-150B.P.(BM 62) (16)

This deposit also produced a quartz pebble similar in dimensions and wear traces to fig. 2.e.,. Yet another accompanied a female inhumation, crouched and on the right side, in a barrow of the Life Hill group. (17).

Within the area of the North York Moors, other Primary Southern beakers come from a tumulus to the south of Hesketh Hall(18), from Newton Mulgrave (19) and from the Monklands barrow, Thornton Dale. (20). Here a crouched 'secondary' burial with S1 beaker appears to have disturbed earlier burials associated with Peterborough ware and Developed Northern beaker sherds, thus providing stratigraphic evidence for a series for which there is as yet no radio-carbon date.

Burl(21) has proposed for the series a time range of c.1800-1600 b.c., and for Step 5 beakers Lanting and van der Waals (22)

have postulated a span of c. 1800-1650 B.C.. While assigning the Primary Southern vessels to his Late phase (from the end of the third millenium), Case (23) sees regional distribution as indicating that they emerged during his Middle phase ('from somewhat before the mid third millenium B.C. until its end'). For Clarke (24) the overall evidence suggested a floruit for Primary Southern beakers between c. 1650-1575 B.C..

Finally, in the absence of total excavation of this tumulus which is still being ploughed, the practice of single burial cannot be assumed..

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Life in Ryedale in the 14th. Century

Part II.

by J.H.Rushton.

Editor's Note: The first part of Mr. Rushton's study appeared in Ryedale Historian No.8, and comprised sections on: Exploring Medieval Ryedale, The Rural Economy, Medieval Corn Mills, and Transport. The remainder of the article now follows.

The Lords.

The lordly families of Mowbray, Roos, Vescy, Wake and Stapleton were at the crest of the Ryedale social pyramid. Some were wealthier outside the dale than within. All travelled easily between local and distant fiefs. As members of the small aristocracy of largely Norman and Breton descent, their interests were nationwide and indeed international.

Military activity was the lifelong duty and youthful passion of their class. Most fought with the Kings in wars against Scots, Welsh and French. Others fought their monarch. John de Vescy was with Simon de Montfort, and in the rising of 1265, William de Vescy held Gloucester against Prince Edward. John was made prisoner at the battle of Evesham; while Sir Nicholas de Stapleton was pardoned for his share in the death of King Edward II's favourite Piers Gaveston, after the siege of Scarborough. The Vescy heir, Gilbert de Ayton, John, 2nd. Lord Mowbray, and Nicholas were with Earl Thomas of Lancaster when he lost the day at Boroughbridge. Stapleton was imprisoned till 1324 and fined 2000 marks. Mowbray was executed at York. William de Vescy of Kildare and Miles, 1st. Lord Stapleton were slain fighting the Scots at Bannockburn in 1314. The 4th. Lord Roos fought at Crecy and was a commander at Neville's Cross.

In another sort of Crown Service, John de Vescy served as diplomatic envoy, royal hostage and Scarborough Castle governor. His second wife Isabella was the custodian of Bamburgh Castle in 1307 and an influential member of the Queen's household. The 2nd. Lord Roos was Warden of the Western Marches. Many of the lords were summoned to Parliaments. The 1st. Lord Vescy was Justice of Forests north of Trent and then Justiciar in Ireland. Thomas Lord Wake sat in judgment on the Despensers. Sir Nicholas Stapleton of Wath was a Justice in King's Bench and the 2nd. Lord Ayton was Yorkshire Sheriff in 1368-9. Milone de Stapleton was King Edward's custodian of Kingston on Hull and of the Castle and Honour of Knaresborough.

Although the great age of monastery founding and endowing was over, the Lords continued to patronise them. Sir Baldwin Wake gave £5 annually out of Middleton to Byland Abbey. Malton Priory gained extensive legal rights from Lord William Vescy. Haltemprice Priory was founded by Thomas Wake in 1326, his family supported a House of Friars in Farndale, and his steward sent Cropton Castle timber to the Scarborough Greyfriars. Younger sons and daughters found careers in the Church, Gilbert son of Sir. Nicholas Stapleton becoming Master of St. Leonard's Hospital at York and his daughter Emma, Prioress of Keldholme. The crusading impulse was still strong. John de Vescy went with King Edward I. The 4th. Lord Roos died journeying east in 1352, the 5th. Lord on the point of departure in 1383, and his son John in Cyprus, whence his remains returned for burial at Rievaulx. The 4th Lord Mowbray was slain by Turks

near Constantinople in 1368.

After lives of journeying, Lords in death came to monasteries and to favoured friaries for burial. Lady Isabella de Vescy, who had given land to a Friary at Scarborough and was remembered as the virtual founder of their house, was buried in their church. Roger Mowbray in 1266 was taken to the Friar's Preachers at Pontefract, the 2nd. Lord to Friar's Preachers in York, and John 3rd. Lord Mowbray to the Bedford Greyfriars. The 1st. Lord's body returned from Ghent to Fountains Abbey. Several Roos's went to York Friar's Preachers and others to marble tombs at Kirkham Priory, where the 1st., 2nd., and 3rd. Lords lie. Thomas the 5th. Lord was buried in the Rievaulx choir. John Vescy was buried at Alnwick, William Vescy and Gilbert de Ayton at Watton Priory, and William de Ayton at Old Malton Priory. The 3rd. Lord Stapleton was buried at Drax.

Their landed estates passed by inheritance to oldest surviving sons, by equal division to daughters when male lines failed, or if no children lived, to elder brothers, but often subject to dower life-interests of widows.

The Lordly Families. 1250-1380.

<u>de Vescy</u>	<u>de Mowbray</u>	<u>de Roos</u>	<u>Wake</u>	<u>Stapleton</u>
William d.1253	Roger d. 1266	Robert d. 1285	Lady Joan.	Nicholas d.1290
John d.1289.s.	Roger d. 1297.s.	1st. Lord.	Baldwin. d.1282s	Miles d.1314.
William d.1297.B	1st.Lord	William d.1317.S.	John d.1300.S.	1st.Lord
1st.Lord	John d.1321-8.S.	2nd Lord	1st Lord	Nicholas d.c.1342
William d.1314.IS	2nd Lord	William d.1342	Thomas d1349.S	2nd Lord
2nd Lord	John d.1361.S.	3rd Lord	2nd Lord	Miles d.1372
	3rd Lord	William d.1352.S	Margaret wife	3rd Lord
<u>de Ayton</u>	John d.1368.S.	4th Lord	of Edmund,Earl	Thomas d.1373
	4th Lord	Thomas d.1384	of Kent	4th Lord
Gilbert d.1350.C		5th Lord	John d.1352.S	
1st Lord Ayton			Joan wife of	
William d.1387-9			Thomas Holland,	
2nd Lord			Earl of Kent.	
			(Thos.d.1397)	

(S=son of name preceding,B= brother, IS=illegitimate,C=cousin,)

Marriages between great families were a means of extending the estates and influence. Heiresses were at a premium and widows quickly re-wed. After Mary of Lusignan's death, John de Vescy re-wed the Bishop of Durham's sister, Isabella Beaumont. His brother William took Isabel, widow of Robert de Welles. Their son William married Maud, widow of Thomas Neville. The 1st. Lord Roos gained Belvoir Castle with William d'Albini's heiress Isabel. Baldwin Wake wed Hawise, the heiress of Robert de Quincy, and his grandson wed Blanche daughter of Henry Plantagenet. The wives of the first three Lords Mowbray were Rose Clare, sister of the Earl of Gloucester, Aline de Braose and Joan, daughter of Henry Plantagenet. The Stapletons made alliances with the families of Basset, Bella Aqua, Richmond and Vavasour. Lord William Ayton wed Isabel daughter of the great Henry Percy.

Failures of the male line affected the Vescys and Wakes. The 1st. Lord Vescy had settled estates in 'fee tail' on his illegitimate son William of Kildare but he had no 'heirs of the body'. The courts awarded his Yorkshire lands to a distant cousin, Gilbert de Ayton. When the 2nd Lord Ayton died, his daughters Anastasia, Elizabeth and Katherine took thirds to the families of Bromflete, Clifford and Eure. The 2nd. Lord Wake's heir was Margaret, wife of Edmund, Earl of Kent, but her heirs also bore the title of Wake.

While heirs were under-age, custody reverted to the overlord. King Henry III upset the Vescys by granting John's wardship in 1253 to a foreign kinsman. Sir William de Hamelton was custodian of the 11-year-old John de Mowbray and paid a third of his Hovingham income to the widowed mother, Rose. During the minority of Thomas Wake, Henry de Percy transferred custody of his estates to the merchant house of Ballardi of Lucca, a mortgage for 1200 marks.

Widows in such times might wield considerable power. The last of the Stuteville line who had preceded the Wakes, Lady Joan, paid a great sum to remarry whom she would, and wed Earl Hugh Bigod. After his death, she was still known as Lady Joan de Stuteville. John Wake's wife was the 'Lady of Liddell', in her son's minority. The widow Agnes de Vescy had been co-heir of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke. Her dower included Malton Castle. In 1283, she was said to have assaulted Old Malton monks near St. Leonard's Chapel. She seized their cattle and prohibited townsmen from selling them food in market. Isabella, wife of the younger John de Vescy, was quartered at Hood Castle on a life grant from 1322. The widowed Lady Isabella de Vescy de Kildare held Malton and had the Pickering Constable sell her acres of underwood and stage hunts for her benefit.

The Castles of these Lords were at once military forts, homes for families, stewards and servants, and workplaces for officers who ran estates and demesne farms. Wake castles were at Liddell, Buttercrambe, Cottingham, Cropton and Kirkby Moorside. The latter left great ditches embracing stone walls around a large court. In 1282, it had several well-built houses and an ill-repaired barn. The main Mowbray Castle was at Thirsk but tradition claims that the good house with dovecote at Hovingham in 1298 was a Castle. At Wath, nearby, the Stapletons had a building which left a wall 100 yards by 60 yards, with one fragment 3 ft. thick and 9 ft. high still standing in the 19th century. This was the 'capital messuage' mentioned in 1343. The Vescys sold Alnwick Castle to Henry de Percy in 1309 but kept Malton. This large fort towering above Derwent Bridge had been rebuilt since its demolition in 1213. Beneath the keep, the massive walls gained a new gateway. On the failure of the Vescys line, the King settled Lady Joan, widow of Alexander Comyn at Malton Castle, allowing her £50 a year, out of its incomes. This ignored the rights of overlord John de Mowbray, who protested at his exclusion by ill-disposed persons in 1317. When a great crowd came with the heir Gilbert de Ayton to enter on his estate, Lady Joan's keeper, Robert Curcy, by 'force and arms' held the gate shut against him. Helmsley Castle, which had once held out against King John, saw its old core, of c.1190-1227, given new north and south barbicans, c.1250, with extended ditches around their courtyards. The keep was given a higher rise in the early 14th. century and a new Hall and domestic buildings were built.

Parks abutted the chief houses. The hunt was the joy of life to the barons. Ryedale had been Royal Forest until disafforestation in 1204 after which only the Forests of Farndale and Spaunton remained to the Crown. Early Helmsley Lords afforested their woods and held rights of free chase. The old park was towards Pockley where remains of a Roos mansion still appeared in 1850, but a 'New Hay' was made west of the Castle. Each had a park-keeper, for the game. The Kirkby Lords had kept the hunting of deer. There was Bowforth Moor, and Joan de Stuteville afforested woods. The park, a league in circuit behind the castle, supervised by Nicholas the Park-keeper in 1301, had 120 deer. There was a forester here as well as at Cropton, where the Wakes had Black Park. Lady Blanche Wake in 1332 took a soar and two hinds. The Mowbrays had warren and a forester at Hovingham, but the family held the Chase of Kirkby Malzeard and could take 42 deer and 3 pair of sparrowhawk in Nidderdale yearly. The Stapletons had warren at Wath and a park wall that eventually embraced the 3-400 acres of the township. The Vescys had no park at Malton but had limited hunting right in Pickering Forest.

'The demesne estate holdings in 1285 and the tax payments by their owners in 1301 show the outstanding position occupied by these families.

Estate expressed in Ongxangs in 1284 & Cash paid in Tax as 1/15th of Moveables. 1301.

		<u>Ongxangs</u>	<u>Tax</u>
Sir William de Roos.	Helmsley.	40	65s 9½d.
	Pockley.	24	13s 8d.
	S.Holme.		9s 7d.
Sir John Wake.	Kirkby Moorside.	32	43s 6½d.
	Fadmoor.	47	
	Gillamoore.	38	
Lady Isabella de Kildare.	New Malton		32s 11½d.
(Agnes de Vescy)	Old Malton	76	
Sir William de Hameldon.	Hovingham.	39	16s 7d
			20s 7½d at Thirsk.
Sir Miles de	Wath.	8	17s 6½d.
Stapleton.	Wombleton.	16	
	Muscoates.	8	

The estates of Roos, Vescy and Wake formed Honours. As fiefs, they were charged with a definite amount of knight service. Wath was part of the Mowbray fee, centred on Thirsk. Mowbray and Roos held as tenants in chief of the Crown and in 1298 John Wake transferred his fee to the Crown to receive it back in 'fee simple'. Honour courts were attended by knight service tenants. Robert Constable of Flamborough obtained permission to attend the Vescy Brompton Honour court in 1246-7, nearer his home than Malton Castle. Household and estate officers of the Honours included a Steward, Wardrober, Park-Keeper, Forester and Clerk, though nearby the Greystoke Barons at Hinderkelfe had a dispenser, and the Earl of Lancaster at Pickering had both dispenser and chamberlain. At Cropton the Wakes had a Steward, forester and gatekeeper. Agnes de Vescy's kinsmen, bailiffs, and officers at Malton, Richard de Vescy, Thomas de Scalby and William Lovel were once accused of taking bribes and aiding and abetting the escape of thieves.

Not all Ryedale tenancies were linked to these Honours. Wake fees at Ness, Cawton and Slingsby were part of the Manor of Buttercrambe. Outside Ryedale, Linton, Garton and Howsham were part of the Barony of Helmsley. At the centre of an Honour, much was kept in demesne. The rest, estimated in "Knight's fees", yielded knightly and other services or paid rent.

Roger De Mowbray's knight's fees, with oxgangs in 1285 and (1297-8).

Butterwick.	16 (16)	Gillamoore.	40(40)	Muscoates	24(32)	Stonegrave	(8)
Broughton.	72 (32)	Gilling.	20(24)	Nawton.	32	Holme	(4)
Bowforth.	8	Grimstone.	20	Scawton.	24	Barton	(8)
Cawton.	24 (48)	Howthorpe.	16(16)	Slingsby.	120(100)	W.Newton	(16)
Coulton.	32 (24)	Hovingham.	10	Wombleton.	32(32)	Scawton	(all)
East Ness.	24	Laysthorpe.	16	Wath.	8		
Fadmoor	48 (48)	Kirkby	40(40)	S.Holme	32(12)		
Fryton	48 (47)	Moorside					
Gt.Barugh.	8	Old Malton	96(96)	Harome	32		

Ampleforth	38	Bilsdale	16	Riccall	16
Oswaldkirk	38	Nunnington	24		
Beadlam	24	W. Newton	32.		

Other tenancies in chief were linked with honours whose lords did not have demesne in Ryedale:-

Lutterell Fee	-	Aymotherby, Little Barugh, Great Barugh, Ryton, Broughton.
Paynel Fee	-	Appleton le St., Cawton, Easthorpe, Nunnington, W. Ness, Stonegrave.
Bigod Fee	-	Gt. Edstone, Little Edstone.
Brus Fee	-	Newsham, Butterwick, Aymotherby, Broughton, Nunnington.
Basset Fee	-	Aymotherby, Swinton.
Earl of Lancaster's Fee	-	Swinton, Little Barugh.
Neville Fee	-	Habton, N. Holme, Ryton, Thornton Risebrough.

Two other tenancies in chief had local demesne but were exceptional. That at Sproxton originated in a forest serjeanty in the old Forest of Ryedale. The other at Barton resulted from a temporary Crown grant of the Lutterell heirs' lands which became permanent.

Sproxton Fee	-	Sproxton	48.
Grey Fee	-	Barton le Street	80.

Other estates drawn from many of these fees formed part of the Liberties of St. Peter, York, the Blessed Mary, York, Byland Abbey, or by virtue of being given in free alms to monasteries or the church, were no longer thought of in strictly feudal terms. Estates could move between fees, not least by marriage. One holding that would be locally important was that based on the Greystock Castle at Hinderskelfe, which during this period acquired parts of other fees, gaining interests in Slingsby, Ampleforth, Coulton, Swinton, Broughton, and Aymotherby. Much was tenanted in small holdings apart from 27 oxgangs at Slingsby tenanted by Nicholas de Stapleton. The Stapletons for a time also gained interests in Muscoates, Wombleton, and Appleton le Moors, before leaving the district to settle at Wighill.

Revenues of Lord's Estates in Ryedale.

(valuations given in inquisitions post mortem)

Mowbray.

Hovingham. 1298.

Capital Messuage, gardens, dovehouse.	15s 4d.
Demesne: 121 acres of arable at 6d.	
50 acres of meadow at 18d.	
44 acres arable forland at 6d.	
2 watermills.	33s 4d.
rent of free tenants	47s 10d.
rent of Abbot of Rievaulx	26s 8d.
rent of John de Stonegrave's heirs	2s
rent of 3 lbs of pepper at 8d.	
rent of 2 lbs of cumin at 1d.	
rent of a pair of gilt spurs at 6d.	
11 oxgangs of land with tofts	£7. 6s. 8d.
cottages	£2. 15s. 6d.
agistment in common pasture	2s.
12 workings of ploughs for 1d day	
worth 4d each	
80 workings with sickles in Autumn	
for 1 day	6s 8d.
hallmoot court	6s 8d.
Total for Manor	£27. 6s 10d.

Roos. Helmsley. 1285.

Capital Messuage	13s 4d.
120 demesne oxgangs at 5s	
Haghe meadow	£ 5.00s.
7 free tenants	1.14s.
13 burgesses	1.10s.
2 watermills	12.00s.
oven	2.00s
pasture of 2 parks	2.00s.
pannage of 2 parks	10s.
rents of nuts	4s.
20 cottage rents	1.04s.
free court	3.00s.
market and toll	11.00s.

Newton.

24 oxgangs in bondage at 5s.

Pockley.

12 oxgangs demesne at 5s	
32 oxgangs bondage at 5s	
22 cottages	1.10s.
pannage of a wood	5s.
2½ quarters of nuts	5s.
water mill	3.00s.

Bilsdale.

in fee, The Prior of Kirkham 13s. 4d.

Ricolf.

The township, let to Sir John Stonegrave 2s.

The Monasteries.

The Ryedale monasteries were Rievaulx Abbey, Old Malton Priory, and the small nunnery at Keldholme Priory. The community at St. Mary's Abbey, York had begun its life at Lastingham, and along with nearby monasteries at Newburgh Priory, Byland Abbey, Kirkham Priory, Ellerton Priory and Little Marish Priory, had interests in the dale. Rievaulx in the 12th century had 140 monks and a vast number of lay brothers, but numbers were now much reduced and Abbey servants were replacing lay brothers. St. Gilbert had ruled that Old Malton Priory should be limited to 35 canons regular. In 1256 there were 30 canons and 35 lay brothers, but in Ryedale alone, in 1244, they employed 16 hired workers at Malton, 29 at Swinton, 9 at Kirkby Misperton and 9 at Sinnington. Keldholme held a Prioress and 12 nuns, besides corrodians, lay brothers and servants. Late in 1347, Thomas Lord Wake settled friars from York in a house and chapel at Farndale.

The local houses had probably completed their major church building works by the late 13th century but construction was still under way at Kirkham and St. Mary's on a large scale. Later work at Rievaulx adapted the nave as the lay brothers left, buttressed the church, partitioned the infirmary and built chantry chapels. Malton's Church with three great towers overlooked a 102 ft. square cloister ringed by buildings of unknown date, with a gatehouse by the road and infirmary block and brewhouse near the river. Here too, chantry chapels were inserted but the nave served also as the parish church. Smaller numbers of inmates must have found both buildings huge. As at Keldholme Priory, maintenance was becoming the major problem.

To support these houses and their communities in the somewhat easier manner of the time, and to maintain their continuous petition of prayer, vast economic empires had been formed from complexes of property, both given and bought, which stood apart from the manorial system of the villages. Compact estates near the mother house, or manageable from a dependent Grange, were worked directly, but isolated and distant properties might be let off for money rents. The old Cistercian method was to farm through granges, while Benedictines more typically let whole manors for rents which became indistinguishable from those of other lords. Yet, just as other orders had emulated the Cistercian Grange system, so they in their turn in the 14th. century, by leasing off lands would, approximate to the Benedictine way.

The great days of land-giving to monasteries were over and indeed could hardly have continued if any secular society were to remain. After the 1279 Statute of Mortmain, a Crown licence was needed for any donation. Purchase and leasing went on longer. Malton Priory spent £478.14s.5d. buying land and £197.17s. hiring meadows c. 1244-57. Rievaulx Abbey leased Beadlam in c. 1316, only surrendering the unexpired lease when the Black Death struck. Malton had a licence in 1316 to obtain 16 houses at Wykeham and Howe near the Priory from Cecily de Well and others. In 1387, they secured one messuage, 14 tofts, 13 oxgangs and 46 acres at those places, with a house, 2 tofts, 3 acres of land and 1 acre of meadow at Old Malton. As late as 1389, Rievaulx, having received houses at Bowforth from James de Bulford, arranged with Stephen de Harlethorpe, John de Cleveland, William Butterwick and William Petch to acquire more.

Rievaulx Abbey interests in Ryedale.

<u>Place</u>	<u>1301 Tax</u>	<u>Lands in 1284</u>	<u>Other Interests</u>
Rievaulx Abbey	17s 9½d		Tannery; Oscar Park
Griff Grange	61s 4d	All Griff, All Stilton	
Newlathes Grange	46s 4d		
Welburn Grange	35s 2½d	All Hoveton, All Welburn	Warren; Chapel
Sonley Cote	7s		Gildhusdale meadow
Lund Cote	8s 8d		
Skiplam Grange	12s 9d	All Skiplam	Warren; Almerly Park
Skiplam Cote	8s 9d	32 oxgangs	Pasture
W. Newton Grange	24s 6d		
Sproxtton Cote	11s 3½d		Pasture for 280 sheep
Bilsdale Grange	48s 1 d		Ironworkings
Eluitmere Cote	8s 4 d		
William Beck Cote	5s 8½d		
Urra	7s 3½d		
Colthouse	8s 3½d		
Stirkhouse	8s 0½d		
Laskill Grange	17s 5½d		Woolhouse
Blakemore & Newhouses	16s 4½d		
Raisdale	16s 4½d		Great and Little Raisdale
Lund in Marishes	15s 6½d		All the Marishes
Beadlam/Nawton	16s 4½d		Manor, tofts, 5 oxgangs, pasture for 300 sheep
Meadows at Muscoates, Harome (Gosling Ing.), Rook Barugh, Stonegrave, Waterholme.			Duvanthwaite, Middlehead. pasture & timber rights.
Farndale			
Bransdale			lands, pastures.
Nunnington			Tofts, 3 oxgangs
Wombledon			Houses, pasture.
Helmsley			Pannage, assarts, timber

Old Malton Interests in Ryedale.

<u>Place</u>	<u>1301 Tax</u>	<u>Oxgangs of Land in 1284</u>	<u>Other interests</u>
Old Malton Priory	10s 5½d	12	Rectory, Manor, Mill, dovecote, house & 2 oxgangs sheepfold, fishery, 19 tofts 3 ploughs (1244)
Broughton Grange	32s 7½d	33	Broughton Hospital and its land 10 tofts & 7 ploughs(1244)
Swinton Grange	27s 9½d	8	
Suter Marton Grange	20s 2 d	2½	
Hoggecote bercary	11s 6½d		
Sinnington Grange	8s 6½d	4	12 tofts (1244)
Little Edstone	5s 9½d	8	tofts
Grange			
Slingsby	4s 10d	8	
Ryton	7s 1½d	2	1 plough(1244), oxgangs
Coulton		1	
Gilling		4	
Aymotherby	14s 3½d		Manor, tofts, 9½ oxgangs 5 acres
Hovingham			toft, 4 oxgangs, 15 acres, pasture for 60 oxen & cows & 20 mares, thatch, 11 tofts and 2 ploughs (1244)
Kirkby Misperton	6s 8½d		2 houses, 60 acres, pasture for 200 sheep and 8 oxen
Easthorpe	17s 1½d		
Nunnington	5s 7½d		

Keldholme Priory interests in Ryedale.

Keldholme	30s 11½d		All cultivated and bounded land, mill
Rook Barugh	8s 8 d		All the land
Nunnington			2 oxgangs, house
Fadmoor		1	
Little Barugh		6	
Edstone		5	Mill, a culture, 2 acres 2 tofts
Beadlam			tofts, 12 oxgang, pasture for 200 sheep
Little Habton			pasture rights Bark from wood, timber & fuel rights
Bransdale			4 marks annually from mill
Farndale			Mill, moorhouse
Gillamoor			
Kirkby Moorside			

Ellerton Priory interests in Ryedale.

Great Barugh	6s 1½d	10	
Marton		4	3 tofts, 3½ acres
Habton			Manor, 14 oxgangs

St. Mary's Abbey interests in Ryedale.

Spaunton			64 oxgangs (48) warren
Spaunton Grange	32s 5d		hall, 32 oxgangs
Wood Appleton	8s		
Grange			
Hutton under Hegh			64 oxgangs
Lastingham			Rectory, 36 oxgangs, Tannery
Normanby Grange	12s 9d		Manor, deerpark, warren
Normanby			Manor, 48 oxgangs
Scackleton			Manor, 6 oxgangs
Kirkby Misperton			Rectory, manor, 72 oxgangs
Nunnington(West)			Rectory, manor, 24 oxgangs
Gilling			Rectory, manor

Rosedale West

Askew

Sproxtton

Farndale

Butterwick

3

Holy Trinity Priory, York. Interests in Ryedale.

Coneysthorpe

Assarts

8 oxgangs

8 oxgangs, Manor House

pasture

St. Peter's Minster Church, York. Interests in Ryedale.

Ampleforth- Oswaldkirk

24

Prebendary of Ampleforth's
Manor

Nawton

32

Prebendary of Stillington's
Manor

Wombleton

10

Prebendary of Stillington's
Manor

Old Malton

8

Prebendary of Knaresborough

Grimstone

20

Coulton

4

Prebendary of Stillington

Drax Priory.

Swinton

Mount Grace Priory.

Gained a Manor at S.Holme c. 1396.

Byland Abbey interests in Ryedale.

Thorpe le Willows

Grange, woolhouse, pasture
for 40 pigs in Newburgh wood,
mill

Scackleton

24

Grange, mill

Ampleforth-Oswaldkirk

8

Warren, pasture for 200 sheep

Airyholme(Hovingham)

Grange, 2 cultures

Laysthorpe

16

Knight's fee, all the land

Also land at Hovingham, meadow at Waterholmes(W.Ness)and pasture for 38 cows at
Muscoates.

Newburgh Priory Interests in Ryedale.

Hovingham(and Fryton) 10s 9 d

22

Hewthorpe

Rectory, Wath Grange
Grange

Kirkby Moorside

Rectory, tofts

Welburn

Rectory, Kirkdale

Wombleton

18s 4 d

2 oxgangs

Coneysthorpe

Warren

Scawton Cote

Grange

Kirkham Priory interests in Ryedale.

Wath(Hovingham) 16s

Slingsby

2

toft
house, warren, Rectory, pasture,
pannage

Helmsley

9s 1½d

Bilsdale

48s 3 d

16

winter and summer
for 200 sheep

Sproxtton

8s

Warren, 2 oxgangs, toft, 15 acres
meadow

Harome

toft

Pockley

12 oxgangs, toft and croft

Swinton

Coneysthorpe

Hexham Priory interests in Ryedale.

Salton

60

Warren, (1286) Manor

Brawby

39

Manor

Great Edstone

41

North Holme

8

Great Barugh

23

East Newton

30

Little Barugh

32

Knights Templar (dissolved 1308) and Knights Hospitaller Interests.

Ampleforth (East)

Manor

Small properties at Scauton, Slingsby (2 oxgangs), Cawton, Oswaldkirk, Fryton, Holme, Hovingham, Ness, Nunnington, Harome, Sproxton, Helmsley, and Wombledon.

Monastic impact on villages in which they were interested was greatest at the monastery site. Keldholme Priory's development stimulated Kirkby Mills to develop as a small village apart from the precinct with its mill, tannery, brewhouse and priest's lodging. Malton Priory remained in its village, and probably caused the village mason, chapman and carpenter to prosper. Rievaulx offered little to the stranger and its early grange sites were cleared of tenantry. Yet Griff, Skiplam and Newlathes earthworks are of village scale, and had their own chapels. Lay brothers may have lived communally but servants could have dwelt in cottage rows. Consolidation of ownership was normally sought. At West Newton, having acquired the land, the monks went on to secure the lordly rights. Old Malton Priory extended their Easthorpe Grange in 1311 by exchanging a house and 4 oxgangs at Appleton for an extra 72 acres and pasture for 200 sheep, 8 oxen, 2 cows and a horse.

Landscape change was greatest where Cistercian monks had outright ownership, with stream diversions, "friar's drainage" dykes, new stone sheepcotes and roads. At the other extreme, Keldholme Priory simply drew rents from Ingleby Arncliffe, Borrowby, Trane-thorne and Thornton. In the higher granges, the lower grange farm might have two or more outlying cotes and at Bilsdale West, the path ran up from Laskill to Woolhouse Croft, Ewecote, Wether Cote, Gimmer Cote and Wether House with its own chapel. Skiplam had a high cote and wether cote, a chapel and cinder hills. Augustinians, Gilbertines and Benedictines had more in-village granges, though Old Malton Priory's Friar's Hill stood apart from Sinnington, west of the river Seven. Kirkham Priory had a village and scattered settlement in upper Bilsdale.

Granges in manorial villages, or granges where the monastery was overlord but let a manor to a layman, made less visible impact but could be influential as a channel for wool sales, church influence and careers or retention of customs like labour services. Some Blessed Mary estates seem to have a poorer tenantry. The occupier of Hutton's chief house seems to have been a modest figure though other explanations may be found. At other places, the monastic rent-collector was the sole contact. The Byland Abbey land at Ampleforth held from Roger Mowbray, who held from the King by "a service not fit to mention" seems to have been in large part let off early to the families of "de London" and "at the beck". Byland, although Cistercian, also had a tenantry at Sockleton. St. Mary's Abbey in the Spaunton district early let off holdings of 10 and 12 oxgangs which passed by inheritance, and in doing so steadily divided, but the monastery may have re-acquired several properties at the turn of the 14th century. Estate policy was not necessarily fixed for all time.

Heads of houses were princely figures and the Abbot of Rievaulx was head of his Order in England. The Prior of Old Malton attended Parliament with John of York as M.P.'s for the Borough. Many nuns and at least some monks were drawn from the knightly and lordly classes. The Keldholme nuns, Beatrice de Roston, Annabel de Lockton, Emma de Newcastle, Emma de York, Hawise de Scarborough, Ordmannia de Newton, Isabella de Langtoft, Maria de Holme and 'Lady' Joan de Stuteville, Emma de Stapleton and Joan de Roselles, can in almost every case be placed in families of manor lord status. It is unsurprising that in 1314 they were bending the rule to wear laced shoes, keep private property, and take lapdogs into church and cloister.

The Friars Minor who heard the nuns' confessions after 1306 had difficulty with their charges. Christiana of Stillington had twice left Keldholme, and Ellen of Appleton was apostate in 1304. In the following years, Mary of Holme was incontinent with chaplain Sir William Lely, and Maud de Terrington long lived in sin in the world. Emma de Stapleton was apostate shortly before being made Prioress. Anabella de Lockton had an affair with the Ryedale Bailiff, Geoffrey de Eston. From 1293 to 1316, a series of disputes rent the house, with factions unseating Prioresses and bringing outside people into their disputes. Keldholme was at one time under interdict, and four incorrigibles did penance at other houses. The losers in one year were the winners of the next.

The monasteries enjoyed hunting rights of warren in many places. The Abbot of St. Mary's could hunt fox and hare anywhere in Yorkshire, and his forbears had set up the 1204 Gauthscou Wood Park at Normanby. He was Forester of the King's Forest between Seven and Dove, and only in 1305 had permission not to attend Forest Courts personally. In 1335, King Edward III allowed the venison to return to the Abbot and ass-arting of the Forest to revive, and there was a park at Spaunton by 1433. Forest rights extended down to the road through Cathwaite Launde. The under-foresters William Shipton and William of Hovingham lived at Spaunton, but one of 1306 was John of Rosedale. Their hunts with parties from Normanby, Farndale and Spaunton, with bows, arrows and gazehounds, sometimes carried them into nearby Pickering Forest. Kirkham monks only lost their right of free chase at Helmsley in 1261 and Rievaulx hunting at Skiplam later became legendary. The Abbot had a forester living at Norhowe and in his own parks.

Cash shortage affected all the houses. Malton Priory, while balancing its annual accounts with receipts of £691.16.5. and expenses of £687.0.10. in 1253, had yet £251.13.4. accumulated debt in 1255. St. Mary's in 1319 owed £4029.2.1½, and Kirkham's debt of £843.15.9½ in 1321 had become £1000 by 1357. Central accounting, annual presentation of accounts in chapter, regular auditing, appropriating churches and economies were required at little Keldholme, and sales and leases forbidden. Somehow the houses survived.

For some local people, the 'routine' of the monastery was the road to high position. Heads of houses included John of Lastingham, Prior of Warter (1235); John of Gilling, Abbot of St. Mary's (1313); John de Lastingham, Prior (1266); John de Stonegrave (1258) and Thomas de Malton (1304-22), Abbots of Whitby. Robert de Helmsley was a noted Abbot of Byland, and John de Harome was Prior of St. Bees. Other Abbots of St. Mary's were Benedict de Malton (1303), Alan de Nesse (1331) and Thomas de Stonegrave (1398). Rievaulx monks of 1300 included men from Aymotherby, Salton, Ryton and Fadmoor. Stephen of Spaunton began his church career, presented by the St. Mary's Abbot, as a subdeacon at Normanby Church. Gilling men were monks at St. Mary's and Rumburgh Priors.

For a few other locals who could afford it, monasteries were places to insure against old age. Richard and Sybil de Roos in 1279 gave Newburgh Priory a house, 4 tofts, 4 oxgangs and 20 acres at Wombleton so that the couple might daily have three convent white loaves, 3 gallons of convent beer and three dishes of meat for the rest of their lives. A canon would have one of each daily.

The Knightly Class.

The older families from which knights were drawn had settled as tenants during the 12th. century but some early lines had already died out. The Bulmers had pre-conquest forbears locally and Walter de Kirkby had taken St. Mary's Manor at Kirkby Misperton at a rent of 15/- in c.1137. The Burduns were then in the Gilling area. By 1166, Surdeval, Lovell, Habton, Garton, Lutterell, Harum, Stonegrave, Sproxton, Buleford, Wyville, Cruer families were present and Malebiche at

Scawton soon after. The Ettons, ultimately of French descent, had come to Gilling by 1219. Richard de Grey at Barton had his tenancy in chief temporarily granted till such time as the King should restore it to the right heirs, but he never did.

Knightly families, well established.

<u>Head of House 1301.</u>	<u>1301 Tax.</u>	<u>1285 oxgangs.</u>	<u>Heads of House.</u> (dates mentioned in documents)
Sir William de Harum	13s.	32. Harome.	Drew; William (1282, 1316), son of Drew.
Sir John de Stonegrave.		32. W. Ness.	Simon (1257); John (d. 1296); Isabel; Peter (d. 1268).
		32. Nunnington.	
		24. Nunnington.	
		5. Muscoates.	
		16. Riccall.	
		20. Stonegrave.	
		4. Nunnington.	
Sir William de Wyville.	10s. 2½d.	60. Slingsby.	William (1343).
(Thomas de Wyville).	10s.	7. Coulton.	
Sir Ralph de Bulmer.	8s. 2½d.	16. Thornton.	Sir John (1270-1284) (1279); Sir John (1268), Ralph (1297).
		Riseborough.	(1308), (1319).
Sir William de Burdon.		20. Grimstone.	William (1284) (1317); Gregory son of William (1336).
John de Surdeval and William son of William.		24. Beadlam.	Peter (1166); Robert (1240).
Sir Ivo de Etton.	24s. 11½d.	20. Gilling.	Ivo (1235-45); William son of Ivo (1251-2); Ivo (1284-1314); Thomas; Thomas son of Thomas (1349).
		12. S. Holme.	
William de Sproxton.	8s. 1½d.	48. Sproxton.	Robert (1233); William his son; Robert son of William (1284-d. 1299); Wm. son of Robt. (1321, d. 1348-9); Robt. son of Wm. (d. 1382)
(Lady Matilda, wife of Robert)	3s. 7½d.		Richard (1239); John (d. 1221); John (d. 1271-2); Henry (1279, 1305)
Sir Henry de Grey.	17s. 4½d.	76. Barton.	Nicholas (1305, 1321); Edmund (1353-1402).
John Cruer.		24. Cawton.	John (1316); Richard (1166-7); John (1284).
Sir Richard Malebisse.	16s. 4.d.	24. Scawton.	William (c. 1260); Richard (1285, 1301); Sir John (d. 1316); Sir William (1339, d. c. 1365); Sir Thomas (d. 1360).
Robert de Garton		Amotherby.	John (13C.); William (1347); William (1374).
		8. Broughton.	Robert (1284).
		Great Habton.	
William de Habton.	5s. 11½d.	24. Habton.	William (1279-81).
		4. Little Barugh.	
Agnete de Buleford.	3s. 5½d.	8. Bowforth.	Sir Robert (1282); John (1284).
		16. Wombleton.	
----- de Kirkby.		Kirkby	Roger; Richard (1304).
		Misperton.	

Failures of male lines would continue to bring new family names. Robert Surdeval had four heirs who by 1316 leased Beadlam to Rievaulx Abbey, but in the plague year Amand Surdeval of Beningholme leased it to Robert, son of Hamo de Harome. When William de Surdeval died, his Ampleforth-Oswaldkirk holding was also divided among daughters. Maud took part to Peter de Jarpenville, and Emma the rest to William de Barton. The Flamville family inheritance at Fryton was passed by division to John de Barton and Matthew de Louvaine. The large and remarkable holding of John de Stonegrave, carved out of several overlordships, passed to his heiress Isabel. King Edward I commanded her to marry his 'yeoman' Sir Walter de Teye. This knight was the wealthiest Ryedale resident in 1327. Lacking children, the estate went to Isabel's son John de Patishull.

Other estates passed to new families by fresh sub-infeudation or letting for knight service. Gilbert de Louth gained Ness from the Foliots, Thomas Bolton had Swinton and Appleton from John Paynell. John and Ada de Garton enfeoffed John de Bordesden and Isabel in 1292-3 at Aymotherby and Newsham but William de Garton followed them in 1347-54.

Newer Knightly Families.

<u>Head of House 1301.</u>	<u>1301 Tax.</u>	<u>1285 oxgangs.</u>	<u>Heads of House.</u> (dates mentioned in documents)
Sir John de Jarpenville. (John de Jarpenville)	6s 5½d. 3s. 3¼d. (part)	38. Ampleforth- Oswaldkirk.	John; Ralph son of John; William & Hugh, sons of Ralph (1343).
John de Barton.	5s. 3 d. (part)	Ampleforth- Oswaldkirk.	William (1277); son William (d. 1284); son Nicholas (1297); son Nicholas, daughter Joan (c. 1316).
		8. S. Holme.	
Sir John de Barton.	15s. 7½d.	24. Fryton.	John (1300, 1317).
Sir Walter de Teye.	37s. 10½d. 13s. 5½d.	Stonegrave. Nunnington.	
Sir Matthew de Louvaine.	8s. 5½d.	23. Fryton.	Matthew (d. 1301); Thomas his son.
Sir Gilbert de Louth (or Luda).		24. East Ness.	Gilbert (d. 1288); Nicholas, his son (1316).
Sir Robert de Bolton.	20s. 0½d.	24. Appleton. 16. Easthorpe.	Sir Thomas (1317, 1324).
Sir William de Bordesden. (John Bordesden)	10s. 2 d. 6s. 6½d.	16. Newsham.	John (1313, 1320); Sir Wm. (1329); William.
Sir Ralph de Blauncmusters.	0s. 5½d.	16. Amotherby. 24. Cawton.	Roger (1285); Reginald (1316); John; Guy (1376); Sir Ralph (1324, 1316).
Sir Roger Grunet. Sir William Lovell. (Simon Lovell)	8s. 0½d. 8s. 5½d.	8. Nawton. 32. Broughton. 32. "	William (1282); son of Wm. (1301) (7s. 3d. at Thornton Dale); Sir Simon (1324) (1348).
Sir Walter de Percehay. (Roger de Wrelton)	10s 3½d.	24. Ryton.	Sir Walter (1324); Sir Wm. (at Wrelton 1332); (at Hildeneley and Swinton 1328).
Adam de Torný.	3s. 10d.	24. Nunnington.	Adam (1285) (1302); Sir John (tenant at Old Malton 1322).
John de Maltby.		Nunnington.	John (1284); Gilbert (c. 1257); William (1318).
Robert de Bergh.	0s. 5½d.	8. Gt. Barugh.	Bernard (1284) (1289); Sir Alexander (1317).
Robert de Chaumbard.		1. Lit. Barugh. 6. Gt. Barugh. 1. Swinton.	Robert (1285).
John Chaumbard. Richard de Pickering.		Hildenley. Oswaldkirk.	John (1287); William (1285). Richard (1316); son Thomas (d. 1348); son Sir Richard (1358).
Sir Ralph Hastings.		Slingsby.	Ralph (1343-4); Sir Ralph (d. 1363).
Sir William de Pickering. Sir Thomas de Ingleby. -----de Dalton.		Habton.	William (1367).
		Aymotherby. Kirkby Misperton. Stonegrave.	Thomas (1356) (1374-5). John; John; Sir John (1371).
Sir John de Pateshull. John de Bella Aqua.		16. Newton.	John (1325, 1349); Wm. (1358). John (1297, d. 1301).

Newer Knightly Families.

<u>Head of House 1301.</u>	<u>1301 Tax.</u>	<u>1285 oxgangs.</u>	<u>Heads of House.</u> (dates mentioned in documents)
William de Bessingby.	3s. 0½d.	10. Hovingham. Holme.	Juliana(1297); John(1298); William(1285).
Robert the Constable.		8. Butterwick.	Robert(1298); William(1316).
Sir Henry Greene.		Nunnington.	Henry(1362)(1359)(d.1370).
Sir William Malecake.		8. Lt. Barugh.	William(1324)(1301:10s4½d at Pickering)(1284).
Richard le Bret.	9s. 2½d. 10s. 10½d.	Swinton. Appleton & Easthorpe. Cawton.	
Sir William de Lascelles.			John(1284).
William de Howthorpe.	4s. 7½d.	16. Howthorpe.	(Fortified Hood Castle 1284)
Sir John de Eyville.		24. Nawton.	
Nicholas de Newsham.		16. Newsham.	
John de Riton.	7s. 6 d.	22. Riton.	

Sub-infeudating left residual claims on an estate possessed by previous holders who remained possessed of a 'mesne' lordship. Mesne lordships in 1284 included those of John d'Eyeville (Butterwick), William Latimer (Broughton), John de Chauncefeld (Fryton & N. Holme), Matthew de Louvaine and John de Barton (Howthorpe), John de Vescy (Muscoates), Gilbert Haunsard (Nawton), Robert de Sproxton (W. Newton), the Countess of Albemarle (Little Edstone), William de Wyville (Coulton). Two-tier mesne interests were those of Adam de Everingham of John Wake at Great Barugh and Jordan Foliot of Wake at East Nesse but the Wakes had one-tier mesne interests at Cawton, Laysthorpe and Slingsby. At Edstone, the actual tenant held of Richard de Breuhuse who held of the Countess of Albemarle who held of the King. Such interests were increasingly meaningless and new mesne creations were stopped.

Direct estate sales and leases, mortgages and family settlements became more numerous. The Louvaines allowed John de Barton to round out his Fryton holding by selling him their estate. Richard de Kirkby sold Kirkby Misperton to John de Dalton (1324). Similar sales took Hildeneley from John Chambard to Sir Walter Percehay (1287), who also bought Swinton in 1328. Gregory Burden sold his Grimstone Manor to Sir John Moryn in 1336. In the same year Moryn granted him £10 a year for life, a robe and furs, the usual estate of an esquire for a fortnight at both Martinmas and Whitsuntide and the right to stay wherever Sir John kept his household. He became a liveryman of the wealthy Moryns of Whenby and Brompton, where Sir John had founded a chantry c.1333. The Wyvilles at Slingsby sold their Manor to Sir Ralph Hastings.

Access to property could come by inheritance, marriage, service or reversion but increasingly was by lease, purchase and failed mortgage. Financial difficulty was not uncommon. William de Redburn, in debt, had conveyed his house and 6 oxgangs at Little Edstone to Malton Priory. There was a Court order to seize the body of Sir William de Harum till he paid 100 marks due to the Kirkham Prior, in 1301. Robert de Bolton, sick at his Easthorpe Manor c.1275, needed money and sold his Swinton Manor to Malton Priory for £147.3.4.. In 1293, he passed to them a house and 60 acres there.

Many of the knights' manor Houses have not survived and the modern name, manor house or farm or hall, does not always mark their site. Where stone was afforded, fragments and earthworks are known. A stone wall buttressed to the road opposite Oswaldkirk Church, 9'8" long and 3' thick, long carried five shields of the Pickering family. Dolemaid House at East Ness stood in 1592 and its tower was not pulled down till 1824. Impressive earthworks remain: Old stonework marks where Sir Henry Grey had his Manor house, dovecote and a little tower where at Barton an epileptic died in 1278-9. Earthworks near Stonegrave Church once suggested a moat and there is a story of one at Kirkby Misperton Hall, for the rebuilding of which John de Dalton obtained six great oaks in 1324. Harome Hall produced good 13th century stonework.

Newer halls might gain a partitioned solar, partitioned rooms with a chimney, separate kitchens and a richer complex of buildings in the courtyard. The timber Spaunton Hall was rebuilt c.1250-75 in stone. The Slingsby chief message of 1301 was reckoned "worth £1. a year and no more", on account of the charges of maintaining its houses. At least one large house adjoined the house there that Sir Ralph Hastings made into a castle in 1348, and there was a Castle Chapel though the church was next door. Thomas de Etton built a tower-house at Gilling later in the century, its basement walls 8-15ft. thick, with a 7ft. wide stairway leading up to the hall that rested over pointed barrel vaults. It had latrines.

Except in scale, knights' lives were not so different to those above them. Locally their role was greater. Many manor lords claimed hunting rights of warren within their demesne lands. The Bulmers' ancestor kept his dogs at Thornton and had inclosed Riseborough Wood as a park above. His heirs kept a parker and does were taken there. Coulton and Stonegrave had foresters. Stonegrave had its 'new hay', and Slingsby and Coulton the woods emparked by Sir Thomas Hastings in 1348. Thomas de Etton in 1374 emparked at Gilling. Deer were taken from Pickering Forest to the Wyvilles' home, and Sir Alexander de Barugh poached hare.

The knights headed local juries as foremen and often witnessed charters in groups. Ralph, son of William, and Alexander de Barugh were keepers of Scarborough Castle and town after disturbances there. John de Dalton, as Pickering castellan, led 300 green-clad tenantry in the attack on Piers Gaveston in Scarborough Castle. He was fined 100 marks for leading Earl Thomas's men against the King, but gained release from prison at the instance of a powerful friend, Henry de Percy. Robert de Bolton gained free warren at Easthorpe in 1304 for his son's good service in Scotland.

Walter de Percehay was executor of Lord Vescy's will and Ralph de Bulmer was sheriff and York Castle governor in 1327. Another Sheriff, Sir Ralph Hastings died of his wounds in battle with Scots at Neville's Cross. His grandson saw rebellion end in execution. His head was sent to Helmsley to be displayed on the pillory in 1405 for as long as it would last.

The knights were buried in Parish Churches rather than monasteries although Robert Percehay of Ryton in 1426 would go to Old Malton Priory and Sir Thomas Pickering of Habton in 1406 to Ellerton. In the Churches, they left their most enduring memorial in effigies above their tombs.

Ryedale Effigies.

Ampleforth.

Man with wimpled lady looking over his shoulder, in a single stone. Reputedly slain at the battle of Byland. Possibly a Jarpenville.

Amotherby.

*Man's head sunk in quatrefoil.
Coffin lid without effigy but inscribed Wm. de Bordesdon.
Effigy of Sir John de Bordesdon. Round helmet, shield & surcoat.*

Ryedale Effigies.

Gilling.	Man's head sunk in quatrefoil and feet in trefoil. Stone bears a sword and belt, shield and helm with crest, supposed horse's head or hind's.
Lastingham.	Recess in s. aisle, with ogee canopy, with arms of Etton. Coffin lid of John of Spaunton.
Slingsby.	Knight holding his heart in his hands. Reputedly a Wyville who was in the 9th Crusade and killed a local dragon. Possibly Sir William Wyville.
Stonegrave.	Man, reputedly Sir John de Stonegrave. Recess for tomb in north aisle with effigies of Robert Thornton and his wife. (1418).
Normanby.	Three 13th century coffin slabs with roughly cut Maltese crosses.
Nunnington.	Sir Walter de Teye 'with his heart in his hands' under ogee-headed recess in south wall of nave. Hauberk of mail, camail surcoat, kneecaps and sword hanging from belt. Lion.
Appleton.	Lady with mantle, and Bolton arms. Lady with mantle, wimple, headlace.
Scawton.	Recessed arm in chancel north wall.
Kirkby Moorside.	Once had a recessed arch with a tomb-slab.

Incomes from Knights' Estates.

Lease to:

Adam, son of Adam de Brus.
Great Habton demesne. 1288.

John de Wyville.
Slingsby. 1301.

122 acres 3 roods arable.
3 acre meadow at Withebusk.
1 acre meadow at LeStye.
1 acre meadow at Le Croft.
3 acres meadow at New Ing.
meadow in 6 places.
the boonworks of Habton.
i.e. 1½ ploughs at each day's
work with a plough.
11 men reaping corn for 2 days in Autumn.
11 men mowing hay for 1 day.
6 wagons and carts for
carrying corn for
2 days and hay for 1
day in Autumn.

capital messuage	£ 1.0.0.
18 oxgangs demesne at 5d.	4.10.0.
18 acres meadow at 1/3	1. 2.6.
9 bondmen.	9. 0.8.
cottars rents.	3. 3.8.
2 watermills under 1 roof.	2. 0.0.
1 windmill.	13. 4.
2 woods	8. 4.
pleas of court.	4. 0
<u>Northolm.</u>	
4 oxgangs.	4. 0.
<u>Coulton.</u>	
house and 30 acres waste.	
<u>Slingsby.</u>	
3 oxgangs at 5/-	
6 acres meadow at 1/3.	
<u>Nonewykethornes.</u>	
rent.	£.1. 6.8.

Matthew de Louvayne.
Manor of Fryton. 1302.
£6.16.6½. Total,

Slingsby.
freeholders.
Gilbert de Birdsall.
2 tofts. 1s.0.
Geoffrey Craumville.
1 toft. 0s. 2.
Geoffrey le Keu. 1 toft. 1s. 4.
Hugh de Carleton. 1 toft. 2s. 0.
Thomas de Wyville
8 oxgangs. roses.
William de Yeland
4 oxgangs. gilt spurs
i.e. total freeholders 5s. 0.

capital messuage herbage	3s. 4d.
117 acres at 5d(demesne)	£.2.8s. 9d.
13 acres meadow. at 1/3	16s. 3d.
free tenants	
Roger Raboc.	0. 1½d.
2 acres	
Ralph Marshall 3 acres	0. 1 (1 lb cumin)
Walter de Scorsby	
messuage and oxgang	2s. 0.
William de Holthorp &	
Ralph de Hale 3 oxgangs	0s. 9.(1 lb.pepper.)
John de Thornton.	
40 oxgangs. homage.	
farmers & 4 oxgangs.	£. 2. 0. 4.
cottagers.	19.11.
pasture of wood.	0d
half a mill.	5. 0.

Boroughs.

Two Ryedale boroughs had been formed in the 12th century; Helmsley, grafted onto an old village, and Malton laid at an old Roman road crossing. Both gained their first stimulus from the castles of their founders. Lacking field land, their burgesses kept workshops in the burgage plots, for which they paid a fixed rent called gablage. Until the village markets were set up, their market squares enjoyed a virtual monopoly of local trading. The burgesses had pasture rights, those at Malton in the Old Malton Moor reached by the Outgang-gate. Malton's early housing developed along the through roads and against an encircling wall. Helmsley's Boroughgate stood west of the large market square, with Bondgate beyond to the east. The tradition that Helmsley's market was once in the churchyard could reflect a change of borough-plan. Marketing could take place anywhere within Malton's walls. The burgesses were toll-free but could charge others, though local butchers and fishmongers paid toll.

New Malton had 45 taxpayers in 1301, and Helmsley 37, but the latter included the manor population, while Old Malton held these in the other case. York had 234 taxpayers, Yarm 72, Whitby 96 and Richmond 67. In terms of taxed wealth, Malton stood higher than Thirsk. Isabella de Vescy however was taxed at New Malton, her portion amounting to £1.12.9½, the rest £6.19.8¼. At Helmsley the Lord Roos paid £3.5.9½ and everyone else £3.8.4½. Yet the boroughs contained a middle class that the country lacked, and included wealthy men not linked with manor or monastery. At Malton, Thomas de Lockton paid 10/10½, Adam le Mercer 9/10½, Richard de Slingsby 10/11, Gilbert the Dyer 5/3½, John Baly 5/6½, Roger the Gardener 6/8 and William of Terrington 5/9½. In 1332, Bartholomew de Scalby was the outstanding figure but in 1327 it had been Gilbert de Ayton, Thomas de Thornton, Alice of Slingsby, Bartholomew de Scalby and John de Appleton. Helmsley had only 13 burgesses in 1285 and its middle class was smaller and for a time poorer, but a handful of substantial families emerged in the 14th c.

Lordly incomes and some oversight remained, but to a point the boroughs ran their own affairs. Helmsley had a bailiff and Malton two, with an under-bailiff and a court clerk. Each had its court, but market and fair tolls went to the lord at Malton. Helmsley paid £11 annually for the market and kept the toll of the fair. Malton took gate tolls and used to repair walls and gates. Its borough courts met at Michaelmas, St. Hilary day and as needed, and had a prison, pillory and ducking stool. The Court supervised bakers and butchers, standard measures, and a balance for all crafts. They had ale-tasters who checked quality weekly and could reduce the price of poor ale. They swore millers and a page to grind corn and paid multure on a falling scale, the higher the price of corn.

Good relations between a resident Lord or his Steward and the burgesses remained vital. They said that Agnes de Vescy taxed the Malton men, even when the King wasn't taxing his boroughs. William de Vescy, when he allowed Malton Priory to have their own brewers, altered borough custom by edict, and he also, in 1295, made the canons free of tolls, stallage and all customs of the market and fair. Important among Helmsley's burgesses were the Surdeval family whose forbears had given Byland Abbey freedom of the market there. Robert Flaynburg, a later Castle Steward held 4 houses, 15 cottages, 4 burgages and 12 oxgangs at Helmsley, and had two of his family serve as Vicars. Such a man might dominate a small borough.

Apart from the Parish Churches, Malton had its two chapels and Helmsley eventually that of "Our Lady on Rye Bridge". Malton and Kirkham Priors had rents at Malton, and Rievaulx had a cottage and granary. Local manor lords had interests. Lord Greystock let an Appletongate house to William of the Moor in 1388 and Lord Dacres had other houses.

Moor was a wool merchant, and took two more Appletongate and Marketgate houses at rent from Greystock in 1391-2. Richard de Slingsby had Adam of Elmswell's house, paying 4 marks for it, and two of Geoffrey Baley's, paying 1s. a year in 1302. Five marks was the buying price paid by Mathew of Kirkby to John of York for a house. The burgesses had the right to give, will and sell their houses. Old Malton, Settrington, Swinton, Slingsby and Birdsall families had interests.

Overlord's rents, called the 'gablage', stayed fixed at 1d. for the resident burgess, but according to the number of doors for a rented-out property. The 'knight's fee' and the Malton Prior's houses were free of gablage. As properties were divided rent incomes became more important. Purchase prices, c.1303-11, ranged from 40s. to 10 marks. Rents might be 3 or 5 shillings to the immediate owner, and 2d. to the lord. By 1392 the Locktons had a sizeable rental, at least 28 New Malton houses and gardens, and 7 oxgangs in the fields of the nearby village. The dyer, the spicer, John of the Bail and the Castle chapel priest were among his tenants. The Slingsbys and Locktons were often bailiffs. Larger owners could merge several owner-occupied houses into one court and pay only 1d. gablage for the lot.

Movement in and out of the boroughs continued, and the Prior of Malton's interest increased. The Setons, Courtmans and Locktons lived in a row outside at Stowbiggin in 1353. The Russells' garden stretched from Appletown Street to Greengate Street with Walter the 'medico' next door. The 'de Malton' family had a dovecote and for a time there was a goldsmith. Emma Mason gave Roger Schul's house in Spitemangate to the Priory, and Simon de Beaurum sold them another 'at the King's command'. While Helmsley had timber rights in the woods for building, Malton early secured stone quarries at each end of the town.

Helmsley had its lorimer, smith, 'bedeman', miller, tanner and fuller and later a dyer but Malton included the well-off mercer, gardener, weaver and doctor, the three only known dyers in the dale in 1301, a brewery, windmill, fullers, and several other crafts. By 1367, the wool-men were working on a scale sufficient for William Moor and Henry Scalby to forward-buy many sacks a year from Whitby Abbey and move them to the town. The townsmen by 12th century charter were in one of the few boroughs allowed to make certain dyed cloths.

By the late 14th century, the Malton-Locktons had a large country Manor. Agnes de Lockton could leave a scarlet gown and a kirtle to a daughter, a blanket to a servant, a new russet gown to Isabel of Foxholes and a big mattress to Robert Percy. Helmsley burgess Robert Percy could leave lands, tenements, rents and services in the town and at Slingsby, Coulton, Cawton and Beadlam. Within a few years the Baileys and Moors and Chapmans were being buried inside Old Malton Priory.

The Church.

Parish churches and their dependent chapels provided religious services to the villages. Parishes grouped townships to sustain them by payments of tithe on everything that increased annually, by alms, fees and funeral dues. Burials, weddings and baptisms took place at mother-churches but many vanished village chapels saw offices said. The farmer's year merged in saintly festivals. Patronal festivals saw dancing, ales and feasts. Good Friday, the feast of the Annunciation of Mary, Ascension Day, Palm Sunday, Rogationtide and St. Thomas Day had each their rituals. In a Catholic world Spelcross stood near Kirkdale and there were holy wells at Pockley's Lady Keld, at Easthorpe, at St. Wilfred's Spring, Gilling, and several more near Lastingham.

Parish Organisation in Ryedale.

	<u>Dedication.</u>	<u>Townships</u>	<u>included & references</u> <u>to chapels.</u>	<u>Rectory</u> <u>Oxgangs.</u>	<u>Advowson</u>
Ampleforth.	Hilda.	Ampleforth-St. Peter, Oswaldkirk and Birdforth.			Archbishop
Appleton le Street	All Saints	Amotherby (Church, pre-1066, 2 oxgangs); Broughton (Chapel Close, 8 oxgangs); Easthorpe, Hildenley, Newsham, Swinton.	8		St. Alban's
Barton	Michael	Butterwick, Coneysthorpe.	4		de Greys.
Edstone	Michael				Hexham.
Gilling	Holy Cross	Grimston, Cawton (chapel 14C)	4		St. Mary's.
Helmsley	All Saints	Bilsdale (chapel 12C); Pockley (chapel 13C); Carlton (chapel 13C); Harome (chapel 13C); Sproxton	8		Kirkham.
Hovingham	All Saints	Coulton (1 oxg.); Fryton (chapel, 1 oxgang); Howthorpe (chapel 14C); East Ness (chapel field); Scackleton, S. Holme, Wath, Airyholme	8		Newbrough.
Kirkby Misperton	Lawrence	Gt. Barugh (chapel 14C), Gt. Habton (chapel close), Ryton (St. Oswald chapel)	16		de Roos from 1303
Kirkby Moorside	All Saints	Bransdale (chapel 16C) Farndale (west)	8		Newbrough
Kirkdale	Gregory	Gillamoore (chapel 12C, 2 oxgangs) Fadmoor; Bowforth.			
Lastingham	Mary	Beadlam (chapel 1309); Muscoates; Bransdale W; Nawton; N. Holme; Welburn (parish church); Skiplam (chapel flat); Wombleton (chapel 1145), Appleton (chapel 1585); Hutton; Rose-dale W; Spaunton; Askew (chapel del Holme); Farndale E (priesthouse 16C)	6		Newbrough
Normanby	Andrew	Thornton Risebrough (chapel 13C)	2		St. Mary's
Nunnington	All Saints	Riccall;	4		St. Mary's
Old Malton		Old Malton (chapel Lane); St. Michael, N. Malton (chapel 12C); St. Leonard, N. Malton (chapel 12C), W. Newton, E. Newton (chapel 1397), Brawby	8		Priory
Oswaldkirk	Oswald				Surdeval
Salton	St. John of Beverley				Hexham
Scawton	Mary				Malebyss
Slingsby	All Saints		8		Whitby Abbey
Stonegrave	Holy Trinity	Laysthorpe, E. Newton, W. Ness,	4		Stonegrave
Sinnington	All Saints	Little Edstone; Sinnington (St. Michael chapel 13C.)			Little Mary's or Mary's

C: century.

Ampleforth and Nunnington seem to have lost their chapel status in the early 13th century, so gaining burial grounds. Tithes went initially to those who held the rectory of mother churches. The tenth was taken before expenses were deducted. If sheep were fed in two places, both paid a share. Even a tenth of Helmsley rents went to Kirkham Priory. Persistent refusal to pay made the offender subject to anathema. Rievaulx and Byland Abbeys were exempt from tithe but compositions were made in some places. One shilling a year went from Scawton Church for tithe of Stainton and Oswald Ings. After a dispute with Kirkham Priory, William de Roos in 1261 agreed to give the poor a toft at Pockley with free passage to it through his woods and moors. The canons gained 3 deer yearly instead of tithe of hunting and £5 yearly in place of tithe of apples in his Manors.

Church Valuations in Pope Nicholas's Taxation.

	<u>Rectory.</u>	<u>Vicar.</u>	<u>Pensions to Monasteries.</u>
Ampleforth	(not recorded)		
Appleton	£46.13. 4.	£ 5.0.0.	£ 4.0.0. St. Alban's
Barton	20. 0. 0.		
Edstone	6.13. 4.		
Gilling	16. 0. 0.		2.13.4 St. Mary's
Helmsley	60. 0. 0.		
Hovingham	40. 0. 0.		
Kirkby Moorside	16.13. 4.	10. 0.0.	
Kirkdale	23. 6. 8.		
Lastingham	16.13. 4.	13. 6.8.	
Old Malton	21. 6. 8.		
Normanby	13. 6. 8.		0.10.0. St. Mary's
Nunnington	4.13. 4.		
Oswaldkirk	13. 6. 8.		
Scawton	5. 0. 0.		
Salton	(not recorded)		
Slingsby	13. 6. 8.		0.13.4 Whitby
Stonegrave	33. 6. 8.		
Sinnington	8. 0. 0.		
Kirkby Misperton	36.13. 4.		0.10.0 St. Mary's

A Rectory's tithes could be the nucleus of an important monastic or churchman's property. Great tithe barns stood at Slingsby Rectory and in Kirkby Moorside's Tinley Garth, anciently Tithe Barn Lane. Yet the tax payments of the clergy in 1301 show their non-spiritual assets to be modest. At Barton, Adam the Dean paid $3/4\frac{1}{2}$, and at Nunnington, John the Dean $5/3\frac{1}{2}$. The parson of Slingsby only paid $10\frac{1}{2}d$, and the clerks of Hovingham and Farndale, respectively, $3s.0\frac{1}{2}d$. and $1s.11d$. Chaplains, and clerks serving the parishes, would gradually be replaced by Vicars given a freehold house, a definite share of the tithes and altar dues. They were subject to Bishop's and Archdeacon's supervision. The Archdeacon of Cleveland and Archbishop Corbridge rode over the moor to Kirkby Moorside and then on to Barton in May 1301 on such a visitation, when William, the Nawton cobbler, was summoned to appear.

Extra endowment might come to chaplain or vicar by pious gift. John de Butterwick's wife gave Peter Absolom of Cawton, a chaplain, 3 acres of wood in Gilling Carr. It had been wrongly acquired and was "for the health of John's soul". The Black Prince in 1363 told the Farndale forester to deliver a shingle oak for the repair of Gillamoor Chapel and in 1375, Alice wife of William of the Wardrobe of Helmsley, gave a freehold plot and the third of another, between the Kirkham priest's house and the chantry chapel's house, to Vicar William de Lay-singby. John of Cropton's 1393 will included $3/4$ and 3 ells of cloth for a gown for the Lastingham Vicar as well as long torches for the church.

The endowment of chantries brought new chaplains who prayed daily for the souls of founders, their lords and ancestors.

Ryedale Chantries.

	<u>Dedication.</u>	<u>Founder.</u>
Malton Castle Chapel	James	Agnes and John de Vescy.
Appleton le Street	Our Lady	Thomas de Bolton c.1339.
Great Barugh	Lawrence	Alexander de Barugh, 1317.
Kirkby Misperton	Holy Trinity	Alexander de Barugh, 1317.
Pockley	St. Nicholas	William de Roos, 1338.
Helmsley Church	Our Lady	Robert and Emma de Flaynburgh, 1371.
Old Malton		William de Ayton, 1383.
Gillamoor		William de Stuteville, 1183-92.
Thornton Risebrough		Alan de Wilton, early 13 century.

The Appleton le Street chantry was re-endowed in 1381 in accord with Robert de Bolton's will and at one time had four chaplains. Chantries were for the wealthy. The Flaynburgh endowment was to provide £3.2.5½ a year and the licence cost £13.6.8. Some resulted in church alteration to accommodate a new altar. Others were impermanent. Richard de Barton persuaded Newburgh Priory to find a mass chaplain for Fryton Chapel by substantially augmenting its assets, but it was agreed only for a term of 90 years.

Rights to appoint to church livings were valuable properties. In the divided Manor of Oswaldkirk-Ampleforth, the 'advowson' was shared between the Jarpenvilles and Bartons, Holy Trinity Priory lost Barton due to a royal grant of the Manor, but still claimed it against the Queen Mother Elionora, guardian of John de Grey in 1273-9. Lord Roos bought the Kirkby Misperton appointment, a valuable investment in 1303. Yet chaplains were often better off than Vicars. The Edstone chaplain of 1301 paid 5s.9½ tax. Vicars had to keep themselves, their house, repair the chancel and its furniture, and relieve the poor. The old and blind Kirkby Moorside Vicar was kept at work with the assistance of a chaplain till placed in the custody of the Barton Vicar in 1286. We hear of the Rector of Kirkby Misperton hunting hares and arranging wood-sales, of Rector John Fairfax enlarging his garden and financing a Mallebisse on a journey to the Holy Land. Alexander de Barugh's chaplain was a poacher but the Lasingham Vicar of 1311, with his 6 cows and 2 oxen, appears more the farmer. Peter de Harome, an early chaplain there, enjoyed his father's chief house given by John the Dyer.

Extracting funds from monastery patrons was increasingly difficult. Offices might stay empty. Newburgh Priory was charged with not appointing vicars at Kirkdale and Kirkby Moorside, in 1309. The Archbishop asked Malton Priory why they shouldn't contribute to church repairs where their interests were substantial. Yet much church modification was done, at least until the Black Death. Lighting was improved as lancet windows were replaced by broader windows topped by the trefoils and quatrefoils of the late 13th century. The earlier 'geometrical' shapes gave way to the 'curvilinear' of the next century. Later changes have obliterated much, but major nave enlargements came between 1250 and 1350 at Kirkby Moorside, Nunnington, Ampleforth, Appleton le St., Gilling, Oswaldkirk, Appleton, Lasingham, and chancel reconstruction at Kirkby Moorside (with n.chapel), Ampleforth, Nunnington, Kirkdale (with n.chapel), Gilling, Oswaldkirk, Normanby.

The Changing Times.

With a merchant, Gilbert de Ayton, gaining Malton Castle, and a Harum Manor family setting up shops at Pavement and Coney Street, York, the future seemed to lie for the successful in town and trade. Yet Robert Harome, though Mayor of York, would join in a "peasants' revolt" and bring countrymen to attack Bootham Bar. For most there were no such opportunities.

In the countryside, even the Black Death may have seemed a recurrence of stresses that were too familiar. The murrain had carried off the flocks back in 1275, leading Rievaulx into debt and Crown custody, and a recurrence 12 years later saw them borrowing £250. The harvest failures, earthquakes and famine of 1315-17, when men spoke of 'the eariness of the times', preceded two years of wet summers. The Scots raids during the recurrent war from 1296 to 1346 saw Barton le Street, Osedale, and traditionally Helmsley and Salton, devastated. In 1322 Robert de Brus sat in Malton Castle harrying the countryside, and before he left devastated it, as well as Rievaulx and Byland. King Edward bought a Rievaulx monk a coat for his back the next summer.

Then came the plague in 1349-50, 1361-2, 1369 and 1374. At Harome they said most of the tenants had died, and its effects are all too apparent at Barton le Street, Cropton and Kirkby Moorside. Rents dropped and for a time tofts stood empty. Some moved off to York, where admissions to the freemen's rolls increase and include some Ryedale names. Sir William Ayton toured the district trying to apply the new controls on wages and prices. Yet as the balance of bargaining power changed, some benefited who hadn't before. Monastic influence visibly decreased as monasteries turned more and more away from direct farming. Yet society as a whole carried on, and in time recovered throughout Ryedale.

1377. Number of Adult Taxpayers charged to the Poll Tax.

(Townships included are in brackets).

Ampleforth, Oswaldkirk, Laysthorpe	141.	Gilling, Grimstone	105.
Amotherby	49.	Harum	86.
Appleton le St., Easthorpe	37.	Helmsley, Carlton	282.
Appleton le Moors, (Askew)	100.	Hovingham, (Wath)	128.
Barton le St.	57.	S. Holme	33.
Butterwick, (Newsham)	21.	Hutton le Hole	54.
Bilsdale, Urra (Bradfield)	79.	Lastingham, Spaunton	88.
Beadlam, Nawton	66.	Pockley	69.
Brawby	43.	Muscoates	23.
Cawton	63.	Kirkby Moorside	
Coulton	32.	Farndale, Bransdale	
Gt. Edstone	48.	Gillamoor (Fadmoor)	
Fryton (Howthorpe)	35.	(Keldholme)	511.
Normanby (Rook Barugh)	62.	New Malton	354.
Nunnington	156.	Old Malton, Wykeham, Howe	180.
Oswaldkirk	53.	Gt. Barugh, Lit. Barugh	39.
E. Newton, Laysthorpe	22.	Gt. Habton, Lit. Habton	40.
Swinton, Broughton	55.	Kirkby Misperton	64.
Sproxton	73.	Bilsdale, Welburn, W. Newton	
Scawton	54.	and other places of the	
Slingsby	123.	Abbot of Rievaulx (Rays-	
Stonegrave, Riccall	67.	dale, Skiplam, Rievaulx,	
Wombledon (Bulford, N. Holme)	46.	etc.)	248.
Ryton	40.		
Salton	71.		

Note on sources.

Parish-by-parish notes, with references, in the Victoria County History, North Riding, provide the best starting-point for further study of medieval Ryedale. A great many of the sources consulted, and others, are printed either in the official Calendars of Inquisitions, Memoranda, Close, Fine, Charter and Liberate Rolls, or in the Journals or Record Series of the Surtees and Yorkshire Archaeological Societies. The 1377 Poll Tax returns are printed in the Cleveland and Teesside Local History Society Journal, No. 10. All can be found in York Public Library.

Some introduction to the monastic history of the period can be found in Victoria County History, Yorkshire. The 'classic' local histories include Huddleston's History of Malton, and J. McDonnell (Ed.) History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District. More detailed notices appear in Ryedale Historian, and the Transactions of the Scarborough and District Archaeological Society. A good introduction to the Norman ruling group is provided in Extinct and Dormant Peerages of the Northern Counties of England, ed. J.W. Clay, 1913.

Reviews

The Oxford Movement & Parish Life. St. Saviour's Leeds. 1839-1929.

by: Nigel Yates. City Archivist of Portsmouth.

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Studies of the impact of the Oxford Movement on the life of individual parishes are comparatively rare and this paper is therefore welcome, but, as Mr. Yates points out, the chequered story of St. Saviour's, Leeds in the 19th Century is in many respects untypical. The parish was formed and the church built and paid for by Pusey himself at the suggestion of Rev. W.F. Hook, the vicar of Leeds who wrote to Pusey and Newman in 1839 saying: "so much is talked here about Oxford sayings and writings, that I should like also to let my people see what are Oxford doings." The church was consecrated in October 1845 but its prospects were compromised at the outset by Newman's defection to Rome earlier in the same month. Newman's unhappy example was to be followed before St. Saviour's was ten years old by two of its first three vicars and eight of the twelve men who were either curates or curates in charge. These were certainly not the 'doings' which Mr. Hook hoped to let his people see.

No one who has read his 'Apologia' can doubt the sincerity of Newman though many must have been puzzled by the fact that the last straw for his Anglican back was the phrase securus judicat orbis terrarum, which in its original context had next to nothing to do with the contemporary Papal claims and nothing at all to do with the claims made by the Popes in later centuries. It also seems remarkable that Newman, whose patristic studies were profound, whatever may be said of those of the less distinguished members of the movement, never considered the position of the Orthodox Churches. One cannot entirely dismiss the notion that many of these young seceders went to Rome because it was the most outrageous step they could take in the eyes of the majority of their fellow Englishmen - "keeping up with the Joneses" so to speak - rather as there are people today who welcome Series III because it retains even less of the Book of Common Prayer than Series II. So too with Ritual; the barrenness of the average country church service before the Oxford Movement must not be forgotten; but one feels the same doubt of the balance and even the sincerity of some innovators when, for example, one reads the excited account given in 1848 of the early service at St. Saviour's: "at the time of Consecration most of the clergy...were prostrate - that is the forehead...touched the pavement". Moreover St. Saviour's provided a first class example of the risks and scandals which could attach to the amateurish confessional practices of some youthful 'Oxford' enthusiasts. It comes as a happy ending to read of the 52 years' incumbency of Rev. John Wylde under whom, as the author puts it, Catholicism became respectable.

The author has handled his material well and displays charity as well as objectivity. He gives in an appendix the attendance figures at Anglican services in Leeds in 1851; the corresponding figures for 1929, his terminal date, would have been interesting. It is only too probable that they would show the same picture as is found, for example, in Micklem's study of Sheffield ("Church and People in an Industrial City"): whilst these clerical agonisings were going on at St. Saviour's the population as a whole was abandoning church going, if not Christianity, altogether.

J.R.M. Senior, M.A.

York City Ordinance, 1301.

by: M.Prestwich.
Borthwick Paper No.49.

"No fish is to be sold after Vespers is struck at the church of St. Michael at the bridge over the Ouse until Prime is struck at the great church of St. Peter on the next day." "No one shall keep pigs which go in the streets by day or night, nor shall any prostitute stay in the city". These extracts appear in a long list of trade regulations imposed on the city of York by Edward I's Council in 1301. The occasion was unusual. In 1298 the King had moved a large part of his administration to the northern capital so that it would be conveniently to hand during his war against Scotland. But the influx of officials and litigants, and the provisioning of royal armies had led, within three years, to an inflation of prices, large-scale profiteering and an outcry from the citizenry. The Council's response was a comprehensive set of rules for the control of prices and the curbing of abuses. This is the document which has now been edited, in exemplary fashion, by Dr. Prestwich: it is taken from the records of the Exchequer Court, and contains in addition an account of the legal proceedings against numerous transgressors three years later. Clearly the ordinances had been a failure, and the class conflict between urban oligarchs and the poorer citizens continued.

The Council's controls were wide-ranging, though often they merely reinforced existing law. The quality of bread, ale, wine, vinegar, meat and fish received close attention: for example, "no bread over six days old is to be sold"; "each baker shall have his own sign for marking his bread"; "butchers shall not sell measly meat". Public hygiene was to be safeguarded in many fields: in window displays...bread shall not be placed alongside "contaminating goods"; in hotel-keeping, medical treatment and street cleaning..."canvas and linen shall not be placed in the drains". Sharp practices were listed and punishments prescribed: "skinners shall not work old skins in with the new...a skinner who offends shall have his skins burned in the middle of the street." Severe offenders could be banned permanently from practising their trade. Needless to say, the lure of profit outweighed the fear of punishment: "the fishmongers on the Foss Bridge and the Ouse Bridge in no way kept the statutes".

Dr. Prestwich has translated the ordinances from the Latin and provided a lucid introduction and notes. For the historian they are clearly a useful source of information about the organisation of local trade, especially the trade in food; the numbers and names of the traders involved (36 bakers, 49 butchers, etc) and which of them were Freemen of the city; but there is little light thrown on the working of the various guilds. The general reader too could obtain a vivid picture of the streets, shops and markets of 14th century York (who could resist buying white bread from a baker named Richard Pleyndamour?); but he would need a little more help with technical terms than Dr. Prestwich had space to give.

W.A.Davidson M.A.

Piety, Charity and Literacy among the Yorkshire Gentry, 1370-1480.

by: M.G.A.Vale.

Borthwick Paper No.50.

Dr. Vale has caught 148 members of the Yorkshire gentry in a revealing posture: will-making. The moment when they face death... from a distance. What do their wills tell us about their piety, charity and literacy in the later middle ages? The answer is..... a great deal, but nothing very surprising; just occasional hints of novelty, deviation and changing fashion.

These knights, esquires and their ladies were, on paper at least, intensely religious. They yearn, in their wills, to establish a deep personal link with Jesus and his mother, to be admitted for ever into the company of God and his saints. Their souls, therefore, must be saved. To that overriding end masses will be said in chantry chapels for ten years; belfries will be built, priories and hospitals endowed; unfree tenants will be emancipated and the poor enriched... all this to happen in their 'country', in the Yorkshire villages which they have dominated during their lives on earth and which they will continue to dominate from heaven. Such is the conventional framework of medieval piety that Dr. Vale constructs. What movements does he observe within it?

First, an increasing precision or specificity in the requirements which these Yorkshire worthies laid down in their last testaments. They want to be buried, not simply in the local parish church, but before a special altar; they commend their souls, not to all the saints in general, but to specific saints or groups of saints. John Pigot had a special devotion to St. Wilfred, and in his will of 1429 he asked that "if he died anywhere within a day's journey of a church dedicated to that saint, he should be carried there and buried in that place." We find, again, that they name the particular priest who will say masses for them; they give exact instructions about their gifts to the poor: in 1467, for example, John Langton gave one penny to each pauper child in Leeds, with the proviso that "no alms be given to those children of whom the fathers have goods to the value of £10 or more." Dr. Vale sees all this as an indication of "the extent to which the gentry had become more assured of their aims, and more discriminating about the uses to which their wealth might be put, in the business of saving their souls."

Secondly, the wills reveal not only the literacy of the gentry (most of the books bequeathed were religious and scriptural) but also their increasing theological and scriptural and liturgical knowledge, very noticeable as the fifteenth century progresses. Sermons and special collects are prescribed, sculptures commissioned. The will of William Fitzwilliam, esquire, 1474, is remarkable in the respect: he reflects on "the lacrimose and ever mutable human condition... in this vale of tears", and speculates in a learned manner upon invisible essences and human frailty. "This would have been unthinkable in 1400 in the will of a person of this social status." Along with the conventional devotion to the mass we find an emphasis on the "personal relationship with God and his saints... the hallmark of later medieval piety". In the wills of the late 14th and early 15th centuries the author detects slight hints

of the Lollard heresies: some testators grovel in their unworthiness and reject any form of pomp at their funeral; while others make no reference at all to the saying of masses for their departed souls. Are these indications of a reaction among the laity against the institutional church? If so, they are swamped by the prevailing orthodoxy of most of the wills examined. Furthermore, charitable gifts show little interest in education, social control of the lower orders or the problems of a wider world. We are in a quiet, comfortable landscape.

Dr. Vale has not been able, in this short paper, to link his findings with evidence from other areas, and so the value of the exercise is somewhat limited. But he does draw usefully on the work of K.McFarlane, R.B.Dobson and J.T.Rosenthal, who have written on similar themes in recent years. Certainly his picture of a more theologically literate laity harmonises well with modern studies of pre-Reformation England. An accomplished and absorbing study.
W.A.Davidson M.A.

Monastic Earthworks South of Byland Abbey

(SE 544788 - 552786).

The accompanying plan supplements the article on the "Water works of Byland Abbey" in Ryedale Historian No.1 (1965). The measured survey was made by a succession of teams of boys from Ampleforth College under the direction of Mr. J.McDonnell. Their results were drawn up in presentable form by Mr. Stuart Harrison, himself an enterprising and knowledgeable student of monastic building activities, and well acquainted with Byland Abbey.

The principal features shown, working from west to east are as follows: (1) (previously unrecorded): a flight of small ponds, possibly hatcheries, descending from north to south. The uppermost pond cannot have been fed by gravity from the mill-pond to the east and there is no trace, and little likelihood, of a separate head-lead. Either a now vanished local spring or surface run-off-clay-pond style- must have supplied it.

(2) the mill-pond of the main (second) abbey corn-mill. Fed by a conduit passing under College Farm yard, to NW of plan, taking water off the beck which runs along the northern edge of plan. If the head-race were carried to the mill at the height of the present top of the mill-dam, there would just be room for a small overshot wheel.

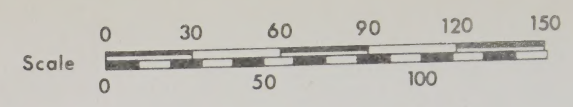
(3) site of the corn-mill. The cottage on the plan formerly in the occupation of the late Mr. William Buckle, now purchased and renovated, had a massive millstone for its doorstep.

(4) mill-pond of the earlier abbey corn-mill, subsequently fulling-mill. The mill itself was located at Low Pasture Farm, SE 552784. The modern farm-house stands in an artificial hollow which would have provided ample height for an overshot wheel. The tail-race rejoins the beck to carry over the medieval causewayed channel still called Long Beck (the Mikelbec of monastic documents- see Ryedale Historian No.1) which crosses the valley and falls into Newburgh Priory fish pond.

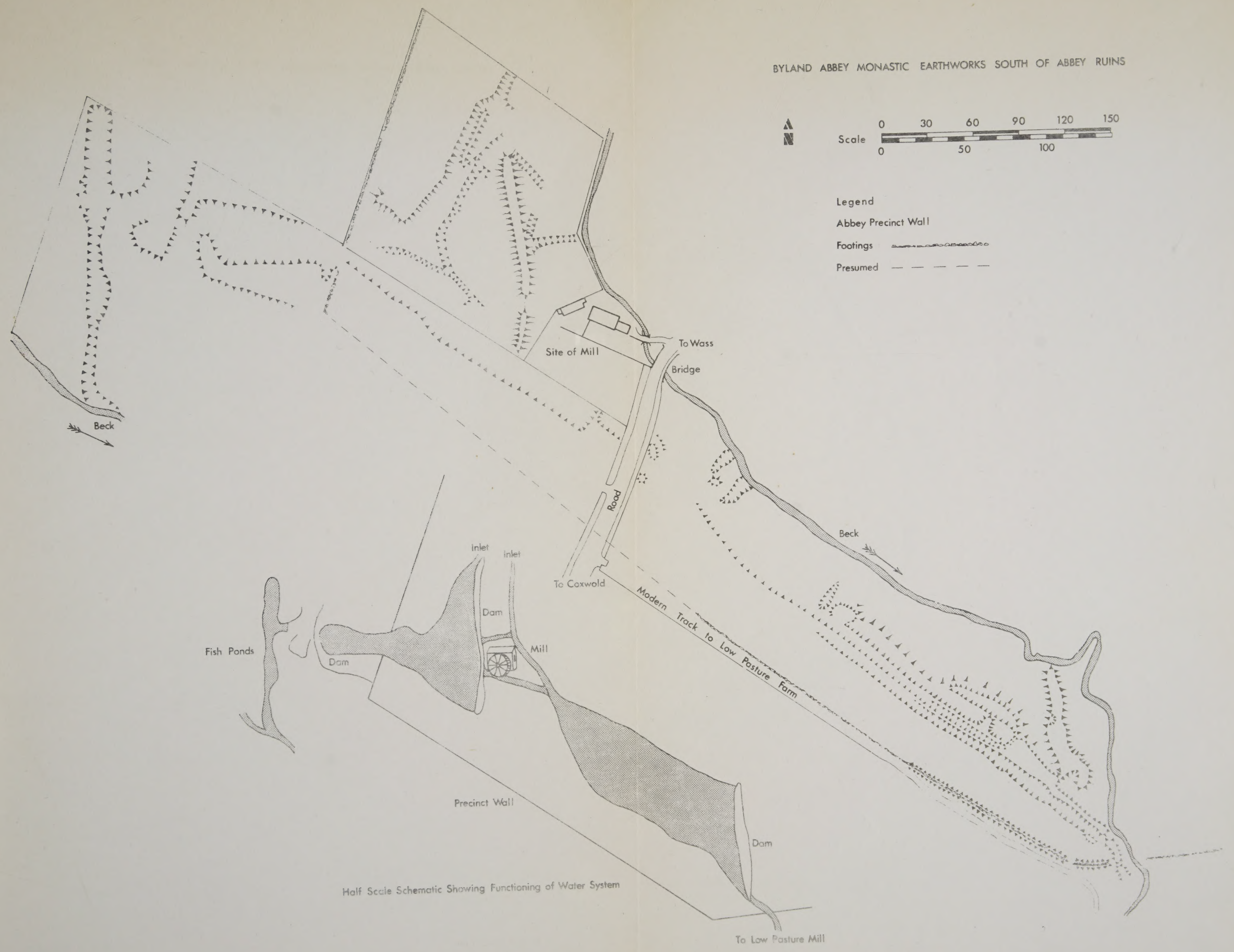
The precinct wall: can be followed from the NW corner of the precinct- the gateway over the Oldstead-Byland road at SE 548790- SW to a ridge south of mill-pond (2), whence it is traceable in a straight line ESE to the beck between mill-pond (4) and the modern farm-track to Low Pasture Farm. Thence it may resume as a hedge-baulk going NE and then north towards the elbow in the modern road south of Woss village at SE 554791. There is no apparent trace of the wall returning north of the Abbey ruins, or under the lee of Abbey Bank behind Abbey house,. It may well have turned back along the line of the present embanked road, with the wall footings consumed as foundations and road metalling.

J.McDonnell.
S.A.Harrison.

BYLAND ABBEY MONASTIC EARTHWORKS SOUTH OF ABBEY RUINS



- Legend
- Abbey Precinct Wall
 - Footings
 - Presumed



Half Scale Schematic Showing Functioning of Water System

